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ABSTRACT

Essays on access to the State higher education systems of Nebraska and California and an extensive case study of the open admissions program at the City University of New York are presented. The document indicates the right to a free higher education of a student's choice, criticizes the institutions that allegedly provide open admissions, and through critical examination of current programs, points the way to a usable radical plan for open admissions. (MJM)

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OPEN ADMISSIONS:

The Promise and the Lie
Of Open Access
To American Higher Education

David Rosen
Seth Brunner
Steve Fowler

HE 004 600

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THE
OPEN ADMISSIONS
PROGRAM

FOREWORD

The Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers is concerned with changes in undergraduate education, teacher education, and education for children. One of the main ways of changing education is to give new groups access to education and to the teaching vocation. In the past few years, funds for programs to bring minority and low-income people into the teaching profession, such as the Career Opportunity Program, have been either curtailed or they have not continued to grow sufficiently to promise a real change in the group which teaches. The teacher surplus or the myth of a teacher surplus promises further to shut out "new groups." What remains as likely resources for changing the visage of the teaching force are the federal subsidies represented by the Basic Opportunity Grants, (BOGs), the Equal Opportunity Grants (EOGs), and allied programs. All of these programs save the Basic Opportunity Grant program may disappear.

Some observers have said that were the BOGs to be extended to all students needing them (and that would require a larger appropriation than presently is available), "open admissions" and "equal opportunity" would exist. The authors of this volume are concerned to show that the extension of money to individuals to enter some form of higher education without a general institutional restructuring of higher education will not grant "equal opportunity." The entry of new groups to the teaching vocation will depend on what institutions do to reshape themselves to make them serve these "new groups" once they have been admitted. This document is a working paper of the Student Committee of the Study Commission and does not carry official HEW or Study Commission endorsement. To the degree that it assists institutions as *total* institutions to better teach future teachers, creates genuinely open admissions programs, or recruits new groups to the teaching vocation, it is furthering Study Commission agendas. With the disappearance of the training grant as a source of reform money for higher education, new change energies will have to be sought. This book both points to what some of these might be and reflects how they may be created.

***Paul Olson,* Director**
Study Commission on
Undergraduate Education
and the Education of Teachers

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"No American institution of higher education currently operates under a real open admissions policy. The program outlined on the next four pages shows what the provisions of such a policy must be. It further points out the distance between existing so-called 'open admissions policies' and what is necessary. We present this program as a prelude to our discussion of the issues surrounding open admissions, its assumptions concerning the educational function of higher education, and its social role."

David Rosen
Student Committee Chairman
Berkeley, California
1973

THE OPEN ADMISSIONS PROGRAM

I. The right to a free higher education

Students choose which school they wish to attend at no cost, through a no tuition—no fee policy and adequate stipend policy. The stipends are necessary to cover the costs of attending college, e.g., carfare, transportation, lunches, books, housing, which are prohibitive for many.

Educational institutions assume an undeveloped potential in students. They invest a great deal of resources to realize that potential. However, a number of barriers to higher education, including admission criteria, costs, and educational tracking, negate the potential of many people. The rationale for exclusion is that such people, often ethnic minorities and low income people, do not belong in an "academic" environment because of various deficiencies. To achieve open access, all such barriers are eliminated, not only among institutions, but among programs within institutions as well.

II. The elimination of educational tracks

Institutions must provide for the diverse academic, trade and creative needs of students, with no mandatory tracking among various programs. Allocation is by student choice, with the institution providing the needed resources.

A tracking system currently regulates access to institutions and programs, insulating the more elite programs from "undesirables" and preserving an educational hierarchy based on increasing status. Discrimination in economic and social opportunity results from this hierarchy. The states and the federal government have the fiscal resources to provide for all its citizens' educational choices. Though most educational needs have been institutionalized in one form or another, tracking procedures deny access to many programs. Access must be equalized for all institutions and programs, with admission based solely on the student's desire to attend.

III. Financing open admissions

The fiscal resources needed to realize this open admissions program are present in our economy. (In New York, only $100 million out of a $7 billion state budget is needed to provide educational, counseling and financial supportive services for City University's total student population.) A realignment of social priorities is needed, deemphasizing technical development and profit-making, and focusing on human development.

Recognizing the investment corporate concerns have in educating future employees, a tax on corporate profits should be instituted. The federal government must provide entitlements capable of financing all student aspirations for a higher education. The states must provide their institutions of higher education with adequate operating budgets to meet the demands of an increased and more diverse student population.

IV. Counseling

Adequate academic and personal counseling, sensitive not only to a student's academic background, but particularly to his or her ethnic and economic background, must be provided. The counseling staff should be accountable to and evaluated by the students.

Counselors should match the ethnic background, sex and economic background of students. Hiring and firing policies should be based on student evaluations and recommendations. Counseling needs to be provided not only in education and career areas, but also in personal and psychological areas.

V. Grades and retention

Grades and their use to admit, track and retain students must be abolished. Academic standards have proven to discriminate against ethnic minorities and lower income students, and have also been shown to have little positive correlation to learning.

Student evaluation should be measured by more holistic devices, such as personal conferences, self and peer evaluation, written evaluations, and portfolios containing samples of student work recorded in appropriate media.

VI. Skills building for those in need

Skills building courses and departments must not segregate students into remedial wards. They should have an integrative approach to learning, respecting different life experiences and cultures and means of expression. Skills need to be developed in connection with content and purpose, e.g., writing a community newspaper, chemistry for a nursing student, rather than in the abstract.

> It is recognized that students will have educational aspirations requiring much skills developments in some cases. Institutions must provide the supportive and educational resources to develop such skills that may be lacking in some students. Such skills building efforts must be viewed as a positive contribution to a student's development, not apart from more conceptual or technical learning, and not apart form an educational "mainstream."

VII. Day care

Client controlled child care centers at every institution sufficient to meet the needs of students, faculty and staff need to be provided. Such day care must be provided at no cost.

> It is essential, in guaranteeing access to higher education for people with children, that parents not be forced to stay home with their children or pay for child care services. This is equally true for employees of educational institutions. The institution should take responsibility for providing such child care.

VIII. Attrition

There will be no flunk-out policy. Students must come to their own decision about transferring or leaving school. This will mean providing for diverse student needs and interests. as well as a counseling system students can trust, as described above. Not only must access be guaranteed, but so must retention, as long as a student desires to continue his or her studies or training.

IX. Outreach

Institutions will notify students early in their high school years of their higher educational opportunities. They will help the students plan and prepare for college.

Furthermore, people without high school degrees and high school graduates currently working should be encouraged to attend, emphasizing the opportunity to build skills and improve opportunity. People should be able to move easily in and out of school, and not just at the freshman level. This implies an end to the stigma of taking leaves of absence or dropping out.

This will mean institutions providing a high school extension program or working closely with local high school systems to provide this opportunity.

High school counselors and parents of high school students need to be educated about the opportunities of higher education for students. A public education effort, aimed at ending the elitist notion of access to higher education, needs to be conducted.

Training and retraining programs will be needed for all educational personnel, especially high school and college counselors and skills building instructors.

X. Governance

Governance of institutions of higher education needs to be reevaluated, particularly by students. Ways in which institutions are meeting student and community needs must be evaluated. Students must be included in policy-making governance positions at all levels, from state boards of regents to counseling evaluation committees. Of particular importance are budget allocation policies, size of the institution, and staffing policies (research/teaching).

> Research priorities tend to deemphasize teaching activities, leading to a shortchanging of the student. Huge multiversities make it difficult to provide for skills building and supportive services for students.

Students must participate, proportionate to their numbers, in evaluating and redirecting institutional energies.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This book comes out of a deep discontent with the way institutions of higher education are serving students and potential students. It comes out of a frustration in continually hearing the issues of open admissions misstated, misunderstood and compromised. It comes from a belief that vast human resources are trampled and shut out of our schools, left squelched or undeveloped. It comes from a belief that this waste of human energy must end, and that its causes must be eliminated. For us, open admissions represents a promise of building a free and open system of higher education, one in which equal opportunity is not only assumed through access, but guaranteed in retention, where no student is forced to leave for academic or more subtle institutional reasons.

Higher education, as currently organized, mirrors the organization of our society. It is a highly stratified structure, creating status divisions among its various elements. These divisions, demarcated by degree levels (AA, BA, MA, PhD, etc.) carry with them varying degrees of social and economic rewards. It is highly predictable where graduates of each particular segment of higher education (junior college, state college, university, etc.) will find themselves in terms of socio-economic status. It is also highly predictable where high school graduates will find themselves in relation to the higher education community. Academic standards, long heralded as the objective criteria by which achievement and future success are measured, serve as the regulators to the various entry points of higher education.

It is no accident that this hierarchical system mirrors the social and economic hierarchy of our society. Nor is it any accident that the racial and economic discrimination that regulates entry to this system mirrors the discrimination that separates race and class in our social hierarchy. For higher education plays a very definite social role in training and channelling people to fit appropriate occupational slots. As primary and secondary educational institutions distinguish appropriate roles for boys and girls, for the "shop kids" and the "college prep" kids, so do institutions of higher education inherit and perpetuate these distinctions within their own walls. Universities train the elites of our society; community colleges train an army of working people. The controls that regulate access to the higher levels of the system are responsible for preserving this hierarchy. It is our belief that eliminating these controls, and guaranteeing equal opportunity for all to pursue studies and training at all levels of the system, will put an end to such a hierarchy, its wastefulness of human resources, and its policies of discrimination.

Viewed in this light, open admissions ceases to be a simple matter of admitting students; it ceases to be the claim of community colleges with enormous attrition rates and the lowest rung on on the hierachy of the educational ladder. It becomes a matter of social policy with tremendous importance and tremendous complexities. It embraces issues of access, counseling, instruction in skills building, financial assistance, child care, outreach, educational innovation—the very role and function of higher education itself.* The elements included in *The Open Admissions Program* outline the parameters of the issue. The extent to which college shakes up students' past assumptions, the extent to which it pro-

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*Students themselves are aware not only of the complexities surrounding the implementation of an open admissions program, but also of the underlying value of admission to the different strata of higher education. There is no confusion, for example, in the minds of City University of New York students concerning the greater prestige, academic value, and most importantly for many, economic worth of a senior college education over a community college education. Stephen Zwerling and Jerome Karabel have written persuasively on this matter.

Being admitted itself becomes an achievement in some institutions. In a survey of "elite" student opinion regarding open admissions, a market research firm found that students at Harvard, Radcliffe, Barnard and Columbia Colleges considered "admission an achievement in itself that brings with it certain rewards (a better salary, a more interesting job, and freer access to graduate school)." The same study showed that students at these institutions were not willing to give up the benefits of admissions for the sake of changing the educational system, that "if admissions policies at colleges and universities were to change, many other things would have to change with them." Interestingly, the students questioned felt that the benefits most attributed with going to college would be enhanced with open vides an opportunity to broaden an understanding of human diversity, the extent to which it brings a critical awareness to students and lends them a measure of control over their own lives, the extent to which it leads to better economic opportunity—for all these reasons college is too important an experience to deny any of our citizens. It must be open for all, on an equal basis, without discrimination, and with a genuine commitment to providing people with the resources necessary to realize their aspirations.

This book exposes the lie of open admissions as it exists today. It contains a critical examination of the way things are, with a mind as to how they should be. The information here can be used to formulate a viable and rigorous plan for open admissions. This is the next step.

David Rosen
Student Committee Chairman
Berkeley, California
1973

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admissions—that students "become better informed and more aware of what is going on around them; that they learn to be tolerant of other people and other ideas; and that they have different values once they have been to college."

Many of these same findings are revealed in a study conducted by the American Council of Education Office of Research (Alan E. Bayer, Jeannie T. Royer, Richard M. Webb, eds., *Four Years After College Entry*, ACE Research Reports, Vol. 8, No. 1, March, 1973, p. 15). More liberal attitudes prevail among students four years after entering college as freshmen than prevailed when they entered, as might be expected. Interestingly enough, however, students appear to be becoming less liberal with regard to open admissions. The report's overview states: "In 1971, however, there was less than unanimous opinion (39.4 per cent) that open admissions should be adopted by all publicly-supported institutions; and between 1967 and 1971 the proportion who thought students from disadvantaged backgrounds should be given preferential treatment in college admissons dropped from 43.3 per cent to 36.5 per cent. On other college issues, however, students did take more liberal positions in 1971 than in 1967."

POST SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN NEBRASKA

Steve Fowler

Steve Fowler, elected at 22 in November, 1972, to the Nebraska State Unicameral Legislature, had served as student body president at the University of Nebraska from April, 1971, to April, 1972. As a member of the Associated Students of the University of Nebraska (ASUN), he had been chairman of the Free University Committee and of the Program of Active Commitment to Education (PACE) Committee for low-income scholarships. In the Legislature, he is a member of the Education, Urban Affairs and Government Affairs Committees.

Nebraska is an essentially rural state with a population density of 19.4 persons per square mile. The density ranges from Douglas County, containing Omaha, which has a density of 1,169 people per square mile, to Arthur County, with a density of .86.[1] The majority of the population is located in the eastern third of the state, where the two largest communities, Lincoln (149,518) and Omaha (346,929),[2] are located.

Agriculture and agriculture-related industries are the primary base of the Nebraska economy. The statewide per capita income is $3,548.[3] The racial composition of the population is as follows:[4]

White	95.4%
Black	2.1
Chicano	2.1
Indian	.4

Total state population is 1.5 million.[5]

Nebraska does not have a centrally coordinated system of higher education, but rather has three major governing structures for its public higher education facilities. The three units of the University of Nebraska system are governed by a Board of Regents elected by district in the state. The three major campuses of the system are the University of Nebraska at Omaha (UNO), the University of Nebraska at Lincoln (UNL), and the University Medical Center at Omaha.

Nebraska then has four four-year state colleges located around the state which are administered by an appointed State Board of Trustees. The third governing structure is being formed as Nebraska brings its six junior colleges and seven vocational-technical schools under one system. These 13 schools were to be combined July 1, 19 3, into a statewide system of eight districts; each district will elect its own local governing board, with a central board selected for the whole state system.

There are several private educational opportunities in the state: one private university, 10 private colleges, one private junior college, four Bible colleges and numerous barber, beauty, secretarial and other such trade schools.[6]

The percentage of enrollment in each type of institution is as follows:[7]

INSTITUTION	**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESIDENT FRESHMEN IN:**		
	Public	**Private**	**Total**
Universities	48.3	5.8	54.1
Colleges	16.5	12.3	28.8
Jr. Colleges	5.1	.5	5.6
Technical Colleges	10.4	—	10.4
Others	—	1.1	1.1
Totals	80.3	19.7	100.0

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[1] (Footnotes are on Page 167.)

The percentage of resident freshmen enrolled by the types of institutions is as follows:[8]

INSTITUTION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESIDENT FRESHMAN IN:		
	Public	Private	Total
Senior (4 yr.) Colleges and Universities	52.9	13.8	66.7
Jr. Colleges	8.9	0.9	9.8
Technical Schools	22.4	—	22.4
Others	—	1.1	1.1
Totals	84.2	15.8	100.0

The University of Nebraska at Lincoln (UNL)

The University of Nebraska at Lincoln is the original campus of the University of Nebraska system. It was founded in 1869 and remained a single institution with a college of medicine until 1968, when it was merged with the Municipal University of Omaha.[9] To many Nebraskans, UNL still represents the university.

In terms of total head count enrollment, 28.8 per cent of the students attending institutions of higher education in Nebraska attend UNL.[10] UNL has 30.4 per cent of the state's FTE (full time enrollment) undergraduate students (one FTE undergraduate equals 15 semester credit hours). The next closest institution is the University of Nebraska at Omaha (UNO) which has 15.1 per cent of the FTE undergraduate students.[11] This makes UNL the largest undergraduate institution in the state, with almost one-third of the undergraduate credit hours produced there. Sixteen per cent of Nebraska high school seniors enter UNL as freshmen.[12]

The university, since its opening, has always had a stated policy that it will be open to all qualified students regardless of sex, race, creed or color. The qualifications a resident student must meet are as follows:[13]

Admissions Requirements for NU—and for its Separate Colleges

1. NU admits all Nebraskans graduating from *accredited* high schools who complete applications and file scores (no minimum score required) on the College Board SAT or ACT before July 15.

2. Each College of NU has additional requirements but the student may be admitted to a College with *deficiencies* to be completed as early as possible.

3. The "College requirements" for admission listed in NU bulletins are lenient (at low level) since NU does *not* wish to exclude any Nebraskan. Students *should exceed* the "minima" if they are to do well.

4. A well-selected high school program of studies completed with the highest possible grades is the best indicator of possible success in college.

The Admissions Office estimates that close to 99 per cent of the resident freshmen are graduates of accredited Nebraska high schools. Outside of a special effort for low-income and minority students, the university does not actively seek students to attend the university through visits with the students (excluding, of course, the special recruiting efforts of the athletic department). The Admissions Office distributes and processes admissions forms and plans counseling materials and events. It does not try to draw students to the university except for a few instances (low-income) minority students, Merit Scholars, Regent's winners. Its role is to make available pertinent information about the institution to those who require it.

However, the admissions staff does make itself available to appear at College Nights at high schools throughout the state. There are some 60 of these in October and November of each year. In addition, the admissions office, in cooperation with the college faculties, holds four senior information days on the university campus where students from different areas of the state can come in on a Saturday, see the campus and meet with professors and staff. The total attendance at these events ranges from 1400-2000 year to year.

A primary method of contacting potential applicants for UNL is the Regents Scholarship Contest. All students who take the SAT by Nov. 6 and are in the upper one-fourth of their class are eligible to win one of 350 Regents Scholarships. In the spring the high school counselors are to submit the scores of all students in the top quartile of their high school junior class. These students are eligible for the Regents contest the next fall. In turn the university sends all contestants application materials. Those whose names are not submitted to the university must request admissions materials from the admissions office or through their high school counselor.[14]

The university used to send out "quartile letters" to incoming students based upon their high school rank. These letters "reminded" fourth-quarter students of difficulties predicted, and encouraged top-half students to continue their satisfactory records.[15] These letters have been replaced by a "think about" page on the first inside page of the "Information for New Students" handbook. (See example on next page.)

One noticeable aspect of this page is that it cautions the lower quartile student not to take too many hours but does not mention any special assistance and tutoring programs which might be available. (Since these programs are not too widespread, however, the page leaves most of the task of overcoming problems with the student—not the institution.) The Admissions Office said that information about special assistance programs will be made available to the student after he or she completed his application. There is a tacit admission made that this "think about" page is designed to get the students in the lower half of their classes to reconsider their decision to attend UNL and perhaps choose to attend a different type of institution.

SOMETHING FOR YOU TO THINK ABOUT

Have you asked yourself, "What are my chances for success at the University of Nebraska?" The following information may help you to answer this question.

University studies are likely to be a somewhat more demanding continuation of your high school experience. It is logical, then, that your standing in your high school class is the most reliable single indicator of your success in your University courses. Now, find yourself in the following brief paragraphs.

Are you in the top one-fourth of your class? We expect you to provide academic leadership in your University courses.

Are you in the upper one-half, but not in the upper one-fourth, of your class? University studies will be a challenge. You will succeed by continuing to improve your application of the study efficiency shown in high school.

If you are in the lower one-half of your class nearly 80% of University freshmen will have had a better high school record than yours. You must improve your study efficiency promptly and substantially. We are counting on your readiness to accept this personal responsibility.

Your SAT and other tests are a measure of your ability and of what you know. Your high school class rank is a measure of what you do with what you know. If you put it all together, you can see how you compare with other University freshmen.

Taking the above information into consideration we recommend the following course load limits for your first semester:

High School Grades	College Course Load
"A"	15-17 Credit Hours
"B"	14-16 " "
"C"	12-14 " "
"D"	12 or less

The Admissions Office in the last few years has made efforts to identify minority students in the high schools for special recruitment efforts by staff from the university special services counseling program.

It is the view of Haze Pope, who left UNL last summer after heading Special Services for two years, that there has not been enough staff available to recruit minority students and still have the staff perform their primary function—counseling and building support services for students on campus.

In recruiting students, Special Services builds upon the information collected by the Admissions Office on minority students. The Admissions Office information helps identify high schools which have large minority populations for Special Services recruiters. Special Services will make an initial contact with minority students in an area at a high school. They will meet during the school day with groups of minority students, encouraging them to attend UNL, stressing availability of financial aid.

After the initial meeting the recruiters will try to reach additional students through meetings at community centers in the neighborhood. Recruiters will get up these meetings to establish contacts so that community agencies can refer students to special services. Special Services has found a reluctance among minority students to initiate application. Mr. Pope believes this is due to a "fear of failure" and fear of the inadequacy of the student's previous academic record.

A problem that Mr. Pope felt the program was facing at the time he left was that they were generating interest from more students than they could help. He felt that a lack of financial assistance was preventing students from attending the university. Pope believed that a major credibility problem could develop for the recruitment program if students applied to UNL and then did not get financial aid so that they could attend. Pope felt that the program would look like another set of empty promises to minority groups.

The Special Services office considers a student's quartile ranking in high school as an indicator of a possible need for special assistance—they don't believe, though, that it is an absolute predictor of college performance. Pope said that "placement in high school quartiles is determined in part by socio-economic conditions and if those conditions are changed, so will the student's ranking."[16]

The university has taken a more active approach in recruiting minority students than it does for the majority of applicants, but it is encountering some serious difficulties in its attempts to achieve educational equality.

A crucial step in the admissions process is the meeting of a student's financial need. Representatives of the university's Office of Scholarships and Financial Aids attend some of the local "Career Nights" and are available on Senior Information Days to answer questions. The procedure for applying for financial assistance is as follows:[17]

Application Procedure for Financial Assistance

If You Have Not Attended a College or University—

1. The policy of the University of Nebraska–Lincoln is, generally, that only high school seniors who have entered the Nebraska Regents competition are eligible for financial assistance during their freshman year, with the exception of some programs of federal assistance.
2. High school seniors who participated in the Regents competition and express a desire to enroll in the University will receive a packet containing applications for admission and financial assistance shortly thereafter.
3. If you have not attended a college or a university and have been graduated from a high school for one or more years, follow the procedures outlined in the category of "If You Have Attended Another College or University" except that you must submit a high school transcript rather than a transcript from colleges or universities you have attended.
4. A Parents' Confidential Statement form must be submitted with scholarship applications. This form must be filled out by the student and his parents and returned to the Evanston address given below in plenty of time for that office to send us the information from it before the deadline date of February 15 (entering freshmen) or March 1. The CSS forms are available from high school guidance counselors and from the University Financial Aids Office, or you can request them by writing to the Scholarship Services Department, Educational Testing Service, Box 881, Evanston, Illinois 60204.
5. Application for financial assistance is a part of the application for admission to the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. To be considered for financial aid, submit your application for admission not later than February 15. The staff of this office and special committees in each of the colleges will evaluate each applicant in terms of his eligibility for all forms of available assistance.
6. Students applying for assistance to become effective in the fall will be notified of decisions concerning their applications during the summer prior to the opening of the fall semester.

After financial need is determined, the Office of Scholarships and Financial Aids attempts to fulfill the student's need from the funds they have available.

Differences Between UNL Resident Freshman Population and the Nebraska High School Senior Population

There exist at UNL some significant differences between the freshman population and the general population of high school graduates. These differences revolve around categories based on sex, race, income level, distance from the Lincoln campus, and high school quartile.

Sex:

The following chart provides a breakdown of the number of males and females attending UNL in the fall of 1971:[18]

Number of Males vs. Females—UNL Student Population

	Resident		Non-Resident		Total	
Class	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Unclassified	423	367	149	18	572	385
Frosh.	2,926	2,101	248	96	3,174	2,197
Soph.	2,259	1,572	210	95	2,469	1,667
Jr.	2,567	1,402	71	74	2,847	1,476
Sr.	2,315	1,195	206	53	2,521	1,248
Grad.	1,345	752	712	176	2,057	928
Total	11,844	7,389	1,796	512	13,640	7,901

According to the annual report of the Nebraska State Education Department, the number of males who graduated from high school in the spring of 1971 was 12,249. The number of females was 11,990.[19] Expressed in percentages, **49.5** per cent of the high school graduates in spring 1971 were women. Compare this to the **40.2** per cent of the fall '71 resident freshman class which was female. The program of passive open admissions that UNL has, coupled with the social expectations for women, leads to this type of disparity in representation of the two sexes at the university.

Race and Income:

The racial complexion of the Lincoln campus is also not an accurate reflection of the state at large. The recruitment of minority students to the University is directly tied to the problems of all low-income students in attending the university. An internal report of the UNL Office of Student Affairs that was prepared in November 1971 discussed the gap between the numbers of low-income and minority students UNL should be serving and the number it actually is serving.[20]

The report starts by determining the numbers and percentages of low-income and minority students in the state school population. It determines both the numbers of minority students which are eligible to be high school seniors and the numbers that actually are still attending high school:

Percentage and Number of Minority High School Students

Ethnic Group	Total Nebr. Population	Low Income 17 & 18 Year Olds Expected to be High School Seniors		Low Income High School Seniors	
	%	%	N	%	N
Black	2.1	13.4	1,097	8.3	540
Chicano	2.1	12.9	1,057	1.7	112
Am. Indian	0.4	3.5	287	1.5	98
Total Minority	4.6	29.8	2,441	11.5	750
White	95.4	70.2	5,750	88.5	5,750
Totals			8,191		6,500

This report uses census data to determine the numbers of 17 and 18 year olds expected to be high school seniors. The number of actual low-income minority high school seniors is derived from a survey conducted by the UNL Office of Admissions. The figures from the admissions survey were for all minority students, not just the low-income ones. In deriving their figures for low-income minority seniors, the authors of the report say their figure of 11.5 per cent represents "a clear overestimate." The indications are that the number of low-income high school graduates from minority groups is considerably fewer than 750. Considering that minority groups compose some 30 per cent of the 17 and 18-year-old low-income population in Nebraska, it is obvious that the state has an excessively high dropout rate among low-income minority students. This means that since UNL does not have open admissions for those not graduating from accredited high schools, it will be difficult for minorities to ever be equitably represented in the institution, unless the high school dropout rate changes considerably.

The Student Affairs report goes on to define a target group for financial assistance from the university:

University of Nebraska–Lincoln Low Income Target Population

> Defining the target group (students from families with incomes less than $6,000 per year who would ordinarily accrue to the UNL campus) requires a series of mildly tedious steps. Mr. Sheckler's report shows that there are 6,500 Nebraska high school seniors who come from homes where the total family income is less than $6,000.00 per year. Approximately 65 per cent of middle and upper income level Nebraska high school seniors enroll in collegiate programs. If that figure were applied to the low income group above, approximately 4,225 of these seniors would be candidates for higher education (64 per cent of 6,500). Some 60 per cent of college bound Nebraska seniors enter the University of Nebraska System. If financial resources were available, we might then assume that 2,535 low income seniors would be candidates for admission to the System campuses (60 per cent of 4,225). Of that group 57 per cent or 1,445 low income students would be apportioned to the Lincoln campuses. (And in fact, approximately 1,200 low income students did apply for financial assistance in the Fall of 1970.)
>
> These 1,445 low income high school seniors, then, represent the target population for this report. They are the sub-sample of disadvantaged Nebraska youngsters who annually have a reasonable right to seek admission to and financial assistance from the University of Nebraska–Lincoln.

Carrying the calculations in this report a little further, we can break down the 1,445 target group into the numbers of different minority groups who should be attending UNL. The breakdown would be as follows:

Black	119
Chicano	25
Indian	22
White	1279

If we used the total number of 17 and 18 year olds as our base to develop the target group, rather than just those who stayed in high school, then we would have target populations as follows:

Black	241
Chicano	233
Indian	63
White	1279

The Student Affairs report goes on to analyze the aid that UNL is currently providing low-income students:

Ethnic Group	**Low Income Freshmen on UNL Campus** (N=560) %	N
Black	10.7	60
Chicano	4.6	26
American Indian	1.4	8
Minority Total	16.7	94
White	83.2	466

As the following chart demonstrates, it is obvious that UNL is not serving the number of low-income and minority students it should, whether you consider your base for developing a target group just low-income high school graduates, or the total number of low-income persons of 12th grade age.

Target Groups for UNL

	Based on H.S. Graduates	**Based on Total No. of 17 and 18 yr. olds**	**Current UNL Assisted**
Black	119	241	60
Chicano	25	233	26
Indian	22	63	8
White	1,279	1,279	466

The Student Affairs report makes reference to a report prepared by a Mr. Sheckler. This report was prepared in November 1970 by Robert Sheckler, who was at that time Director of the Nebraska Student Financial Aids Educational Talent Search Project. The data in his report has served as the basis for most current evaluation of UNL's and the University System's financial assistance programs.

The Sheckler report calculates that the average annual number of Nebraska high school graduates from 1964–1969 was 22,900. Of that number, an average of 6500 students per year were from low-income families. Sheckler calculates the percentage of high school graduates going on to college education for both the low-income and total Nebraska high school graduate populations. Additional calculations can determine the percentages of middle and upper income students who attend post-secondary education.

College-attendance Rate (in percentages)

TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL GRADS.	Lower Income Grads.	Middle & Upper Income Grads.
52.8%	18.9%	65.0%

These figures demonstrate a major gap in the ability of lower-income students to attend college.[21]

A county-by-county comparison of college attendance rates with the median income of the counties indicates a similar gap. A comparison of the percentages of high school seniors who go on to post secondary education and on to UNL indicates that the numbers who go on to higher education declines as the median family income declines:

College Attendance Rates Among High School Seniors
(Income figures from the 1970 census)

Income Level	All Post-secondary	UNL
Above $8,565*	57%	28%
$7,500-$8,564	55%	14%
$6,000-$7,500	48%	12%
Under $6,000	41%	10%
Statewide	48%	16%

Another way to view this discrepancy is to compare the numbers and percentages of high-school seniors, post-secondary students and UNL students who come from each category of county.

Attendance Rates Among Seniors, College Freshmen

	High School Seniors from Each Category		Freshmen in Post-secondary Institutions from Each Category		UNL Freshmen from Each Category	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above $8,565*	5,079	28	2,905	31	1,410	46
$7,500-$8,564	6,565	37	3,669	39	905	30
$6,000-$7,500	4,603	26	2,219	23	596	19
Under $6,000	1,425	8	589	6	153	5
		99		99		100

---

*Because there is no residency information on the 3,730 students who attend the Omaha Nebraska Community Technical College, the three counties closest to this college (Washington, Douglas, Sarpy) have been excluded from these calculations.

This arrangement of the figures shows that although those counties with average incomes above $8565 provide 28 per cent of the high school seniors, they provide 31 per cent and 46 per cent of the Nebraska post-secondary and UNL freshman population, respectively. The lowest income counties provide eight per cent of the high school seniors, six per cent of the freshmen in Nebraska post secondary schools and five per cent of the UNL freshmen. If these lowest income counties were to have the same percentage of students attending UNL as freshmen as they have attending high schools as seniors, they would have 246 students enrolled as freshmen at UNL rather than 153.

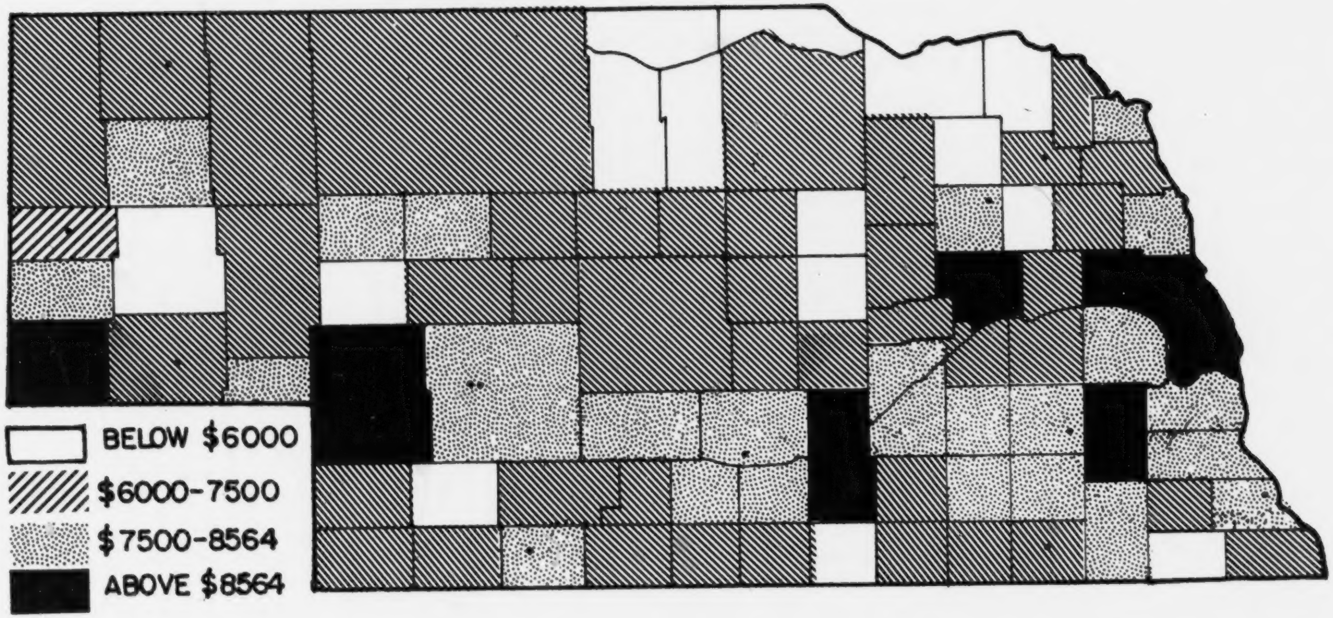
There are two other factors which may make the educational gap between these income categories greater: the high school dropout rate and the ability to send students to out-of-state institutions. As has been shown earlier, lower income students drop out of school at a higher rate than middle and upper income students.

This would mean that if one considered the percentage of people of twelfth grade age that come from each of the income divisions of the counties, the low income counties would have a higher percentage of people of high school senior age than of actual high school seniors. This would reflect an even greater inequality in higher education attendance.

Since upper income counties send a higher percentage of students on to higher education within Nebraska than do the lower income counties, it would seem highly probable that they would send more of their high school graduates to out-of-state schools than the lower income counties. And considering the usually higher tuition and transportation costs of attending out-of-state institutions, the attendance rate for out-of-state colleges must be considerably higher for the upper income counties than for the lower income ones. This also would widen the gap of educational equality.

No matter which of the three ways you view the situation, the Student Affairs report, the Sheckler figures, or the county income level, it is clear that a lower income affects the ability of a student to attend college in general, and also to attend UNL. The question the institution should ask itself is why is this the case? What prevents lower income and lower income minority students from attending the institution? Upon this question, there is disagreement within the institution. There does not appear to be any comprehensive data available within the university to help resolve this problem.

The Student Affairs report indicates that about 1200 low income students did apply to UNL for financial assistance (recall that the low income target group, i.e., the number of low income freshmen that should be attending UNL, was around 1400). This should indicate that motivation and interest is not a very great problem. Why is it then that only 560 low income freshmen entered UNL? Haze Pope believes that the major problem in attracting low income students is a lack of financial assistance. Ely Meyerson, formerly the interim Dean of Student Affairs, states that available financial assistance is not the problem in attracting minority students. He believes there were never enough minority applications turned in in the spring, MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, 1969


BELOW $6000
$6000-7500
$7500-8564
ABOVE $8564

when it was necessary to begin processing applications to determine financial need for awarding scholarships. Meyerson does not believe, though, that there are enough funds available to meet the needs of all the low income students who apply to UNL.

The Scholarships and Financial Aids Office claims it has never seen a student not able to attend the university because the university was financially unable to meet its share of student support. They indicated that there are several other reasons why fewer than one-half of the low income students who applied, enter UNL. Among these are unwillingness of the parents to pay their share of the costs, parental and high school counselors' attitudes which discourage the student from attending UNL, a decision to attend another institution, or some other change in the student's plans. The director of Scholarships and Financial Aids did say that there might not be quite enough money to provide assistance for all 1400 students, but that money has not been the problem at this point. However, no complete survey has been made of the approximately 700 low income students who applied to UNL but did not go.[23] The total group of freshmen applicants does not have such a high percentage deciding not to attend. There must be some reason for this problem with low income students.

The Student Affairs report, mentioned earlier, calls a lack of funding the problem. It states: "There remains the quite obvious deficit of nearly 900 low income high school graduates—both white and ethnic minority—who are denied matriculation at the university because adequate funding is not available." The report goes on to estimate how much additional money would be necessary for UNL to meet its target group of 1400 students. The report figures that to attend the university a student from a family of less than $6000 annual income must find outside financial assistance of $2000 a year. To provide this amount of aid the University would have to raise an additional $2,673,400 in grant money, and $1,336,700 each in loan and work study money.

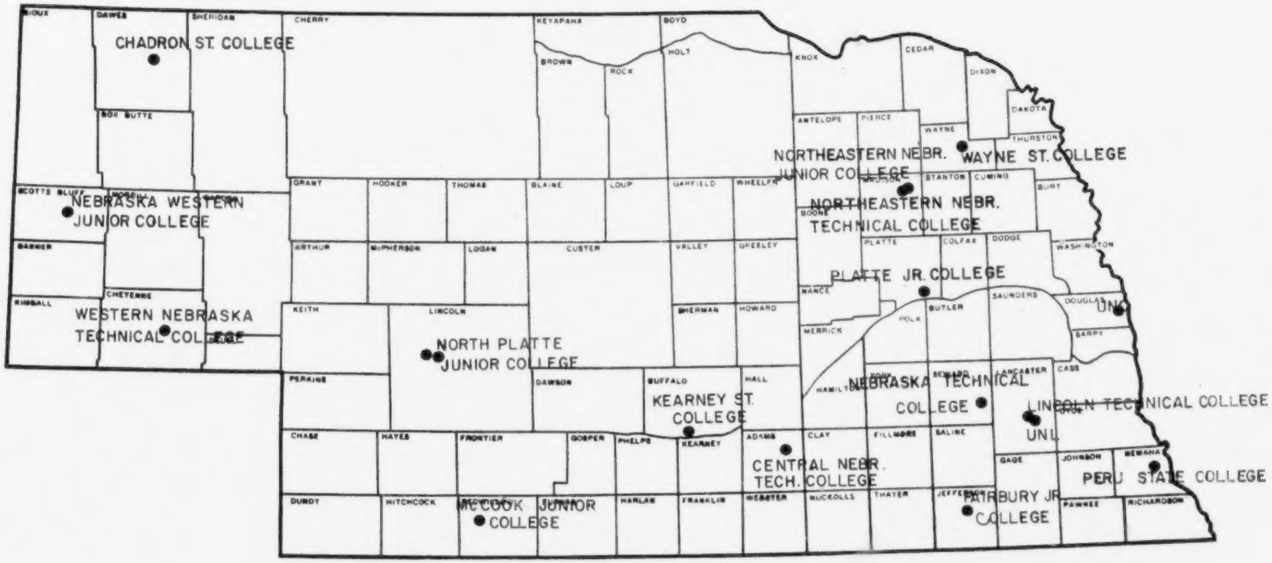
Currently, Scholarships and Financial Aids granted an average of $1,650 to the 560 low income freshmen.[24] Despite some disagreement among the offices in Student Affairs, it appears that, lacking any concrete data, it is a lack of available financial aid that is the major stumbling block for those low income students who apply to enter UNL but do not enter. However, other factors, such as those mentioned by the Scholarships and Financial Aids Office, probably do enter in.

Distance from UNL:

Another factor which influences the nature of the student body at UNL, and one which appears to be closely tied to income, is the distance of the student's home from the university.

For the purposes of this report the state was divided into six areas. The first area is Lancaster County, in which UNL is located. The remaining five areas were determined by the distance of the county centers from Lincoln. Area 1 includes all counties whose centers are 75 miles or less from Lincoln (excluding Lancaster), Area 2 is 76-150 miles, Area 3 is 151-225 miles, Area 4 is 226-300 miles, and Area 5 is 301 miles to the state border.

LOCATION OF STATE SCHOOLS


CHADRON ST. COLLEGE
NEBRASKA WESTERN JUNIOR COLLEGE
WESTERN NEBRASKA TECHNICAL COLLEGE
NORTH PLATTE JUNIOR COLLEGE
McCOOK JUNIOR COLLEGE
KEARNEY ST. COLLEGE
CENTRAL NEBR. TECH. COLLEGE
NORTHEASTERN NEBR. JUNIOR COLLEGE
NORTHEASTERN NEBR. TECHNICAL COLLEGE
WAYNE ST. COLLEGE
PLATTE JR. COLLEGE
UNO
NEBRASKA TECHNICAL COLLEGE
LINCOLN TECHNICAL COLLEGE
UNL
PERU STATE COLLEGE
FAIRBURY JR. COLLEGE
SIOUX
DAWES
SHERIDAN
CHERRY
KEYAPAHA
BOYD
BROWN
ROCK
HOLT
KNOX
CEDAR
DIXON
DAKOTA
BOX BUTTE
ANTELOPE
PIERCE
WAYNE
THURSTON
SCOTTS BLUFF
MORRILL
GARDEN
GRANT
HOOKER
THOMAS
BLAINE
LOUP
GARFIELD
WHEELER
MADISON
STANTON
CUMING
BURT
BOONE
PLATTE
COLFAX
DODGE
WASHINGTON
BANNER
ARTHUR
McPHERSON
LOGAN
CUSTER
VALLEY
GREELEY
NANCE
SAUNDERS
DOUGLAS
KIMBALL
CHEYENNE
DEUEL
KEITH
LINCOLN
SHERMAN
HOWARD
BUTLER
POLK
SARPY
MERRICK
PERKINS
DAWSON
BUFFALO
HALL
HAMILTON
YORK
SEWARD
LANCASTER
CASS
OTOE
CHASE
HAYES
FRONTIER
GOSPER
PHELPS
KEARNEY
ADAMS
CLAY
FILLMORE
SALINE
GAGE
JOHNSON
NEMAHA
DUNDY
HITCHCOCK
RED WILLOW
FURNAS
HARLAN
FRANKLIN
WEBSTER
NUCKOLLS
THAYER
JEFFERSON
PAWNEE
RICHARDSON

Information was then gathered about the number of high school seniors in each area who enter post-secondary educational facilities (excluding private trade schools). The figures are as follows (expressed in percentages):[25]

Distance from Lincoln	**Attend Higher Education**	**Attend UNL**
	%	**%**
Lancaster County	69	38
Area 1 (75 miles or less)	44	14
Area 2 (76-150 miles)	48	13
Area 3 (151-225 miles)	43	11
Area 4 (226-300 miles)	51	15
Area 5 (301 miles or more)	54	8

The trend is that as you move away from Lincoln the percentage of students attending UNL declines (except for Area 4), while the attendance rate for all higher education fluctuates.

If one calculates the percentage of the students who go on to higher education that attend UNL the trend is clearer:

% of the Total Number of Students That
Go on to College That Attended UNL,
Fall '71

Distance from Lincoln	**Percentage**
Lancaster County	58.0
Area 1 (75 miles or less)	31.1
Area 2 (76-150 miles)	27.3
Area 3 (151-225 miles)	25.4
Area 4 (226-300 miles)	29.1
Area 5 (301 miles or more)	14.6

A third way to view this situation is to calculate the percentage of the total (i.e., statewide) number of high school seniors, the total number of college students and the total number of UNL freshmen that come from each area:

	% of High School Seniors	**% of Resident Freshman College Students**	**% of UNL Freshman**
Lancaster County	9.0	13.0	24.6
Area 1 (75 miles or less)	48.3	44.5	42.2
Area 2 (76-150 miles)	23.5	23.6	19.7
Area 3 (151-225 miles)	9.1	8.1	6.3
Area 4 (226-300 miles)	3.0	3.2	2.8
Area 5 (301 miles or more)	6.7	7.5	3.3

It is apparent that students are more inclined to attend an institution if it is closer to their home.

An analysis of eleven counties which contain public institutions of higher education reflects this same trend—students will tend to go to the institution closest to home, whether it is a two-year college, a four-year college, or a vocational-technical school.

The contrasts in the percentages that attend the different types of colleges indicates that students in Nebraska do not seem to divide into groups of equal proportion that attend the type of institution best suited to their academic capabilities. Rather, a more important factor (for freshmen at least) is the proximity of the institution. For example, Wayne and Lancaster Counties, which contain public senior institutions, have 41.5 per cent of their high school graduates attend public senior colleges in the state. Red Willow and Jefferson Counties have 11 per cent and eight per cent of their high school seniors going on to public senior institutions. However, 66 per cent of the high school seniors in Red Willow County and 43 per cent of the high school seniors in Jefferson County attend a Public junior college. Both of those counties contain public junior colleges. Lancaster County has 10 percent of its high school seniors going to public junior colleges and Wayne County has only three per cent. (See Chart.)

A strong factor in this trend is probably the cheaper cost of living at home as opposed to living in a dormitory. Transportation costs probably also enter into the decision to attend a local institution.

High School Quartile:

Statistical information from the University Counseling Center shows that the majority of students at UNL were in the top quarter of their high school graduating class. The breakdown is as follows:[26]

High School Quartile	Percentage of UNL Student Population	
	Male	Female
1st Quartile	56%	64%
2nd Quartile	31	25
3rd Quartile	12	10
4th Quartile	1	1
	99	100

NU Reports, the newsletter of the admissions office, gives the following breakdowns for freshmen entering the university and for graduating seniors:[27]

Quartile High School	Freshman	Graduating Seniors
1st Quartile	49%	60%
2nd Quartile	30	28
3rd Quartile	16	10
4th Quartile	5	2
	100	100

County	Name of Institution	Type of School	Number of High School Seniors	College Attendance Rate	Public Senior College	UNL	Public Junior College	Voc-Tech College
Scottsbluff	Nebr. Western	Jr. College	636	.627	73	42	299	19
Cheyenne	Western Nebr.	Voc-Tech	244	.525	87	32	4	25
Lincoln (data appears incomplete)	North Platte Mid Plains	Jr. College	542	.183	62	40	1(?)	23
Red Willow	McCook Jr.	Jr. College	230	.822	25	13	151	9
Buffalo	Kearney	Public Senior	518	.546	220	42	2	33
Adams	Central Nebr.	Tech. College	494	.565	139	75	4	81
Jefferson	Fairbury Jr.	Jr. College	217	.594	17	14	95	5
Seward	Nebr. Tech.	Tech. College	288	.438	60	42	29	36
Lancaster	UNL	Public Senior						
	Lincoln, Nebr. Tech.-Community College	Tech. College	2,245	.692	1,045	971	229	155
Platte	Platte Jr.	Jr. College	500	.432	58	45	132	7
Wayne	Wayne State	Public Senior	123	.683	55	8	4	20
Madison	Northeastern Nebraska	Voc.-Tech						
	Norfolk Jr.	Jr. College	519	.647	97	45	169	52

The high percentage of students at UNL who come from the top quartile of their high school class is probably due in part to the fact that the institution chose to contact these students and give them admissions materials while the students in the lower three quartiles had to request admissions materials. The university's attitudes towards students in the lower quartiles is probably reinforced by high school counselors who would question the suitability of lower quartile students attending UNL. These factors coupled with attitudes the students and their parents may have about the student's ability to make it, all contribute to the heavy weighting of first quartile students at UNL.

The Future for Open Admissions at UNL

Although there have been discussions within the university about limiting UNL's enrollment (the figure usually mentioned is 25,000 students), it does not appear that this is planned for the immediate future. There are apparently no committees on the campus or college level that are discussing limiting enrollment.

A five-year plan, recently approved by the Board of Regents, indicates that they do not desire enrollment controls to be placed on the undergraduate student population. In projecting the enrollment for UNL for the next five years, the plan indicates that the size of the high school graduating classes will remain almost the same. The plan admits that "enrollment trends and their impact are difficult to predict" and presents two different scenarios. One scenario is that "only two major student groups remain to further increase the normal college attendance rates—women and low income minority students." This scenario goes on to suggest that this increase "may be offset by a decrease in the number of marginal students now attending who will pursue their educational objectives in one of the improving Nebraska junior colleges or vocational schools." The plan goes on to state:

"This shifting of some students will mean—particularly for the Lincoln campus—that growth will be concentrated increasingly at upper division levels through transfers and that lower division enrollments will remain at about current levels."

The second scenario suggests that tuition increases at private institutions and for non-residents at public institutions might decrease the number of Nebraska students who would go to out-of-state institutions. The plan states that "this could lead to enrollment increases at the University of Nebraska unless controls are imposed." Weighing both scenarios, the plan concludes that "it seems reasonable to assume that by 1977 the enrollment on the UNL campus will be about 23,000 students (1500 above present enrollment)."[28]

Although the Five-Year Plan does not discuss the numbers of women or low income and minority students needed to achieve equality, it might be helpful to look at these figures. For a numerical equality in sexes UNL must add 5739 women or lose to other institutions a similar number of men. For an equality in the numbers of low income students attending UNL there would have to be 3500 to 4000 additional students from low income backgrounds.

The Five-Year Plan later calls for a improvement in the retention of students in the university:

> A distressingly large number of students fail to complete their collegiate work—for a whole range of reasons. The attrition is particularly acute for those students who graduated in the bottom one-third of their high school classes. When the university admits a student, it assumes an obligation to help that student succeed. A new effort—positive, conscious, and deliberate—must be made on all campuses to reduce the student "fallout."[29]

The current UNL attrition rate is 25 per cent at the end of the freshman year, even at the end of the sophomore year (as many transfer in as drop out), and 10 per cent at the end of the junior year. If this was cut by even one-third, UNL would have *1400* more students in four years.[30]

Although the Five-Year Plan contains the rhetoric of equal educational opportunity, it would not appear that there is planned a major push towards equitable representation of women, minorities, and low income students if the institution plans an increase of only 1500 students in five years.

The execution of what small push there was three years ago has faltered somewhat. In May of 1970, the faculty senate of the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, at the urging of its Human Rights Committee which had been studying equality of educational opportunity at the university, passed a resolution urging the university to raise sufficient money so that no student would be kept from the university by virtue of inability to pay the costs of attending. The resolution was passed during the period of student concern about the American invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State episodes and was viewed by some as a symbol of the notion that the university was willing to change in areas where it had power to change things. After the passage of the resolution, President Joseph Soshnik of the UNL campus appointed a committee of faculty members to raise money for minority and low-income students from among the faculty and a few thousand dollars were raised in the summer of 1970. A few business contacts were made, and at least one gift of a thousand dollars received. However, by the end of the summer, it was clear that the effort was going nowhere. In the fall of 1970 President Durwood Varner of the systems office appointed a committee of students, faculty and administrators from the three campuses of the University to provide a clear plan of action. This committee, headed by one of the university vice-chancellors, deliberated for several months, developing a portrait of the total University of Nebraska system's service to low-income people parallel throughout to that developed in this article. The committee urged the university system as a whole to recruit 1,365 low-income and minority students annually to the three UN campuses and that the $1,400,000 in outright scholarship or grant funds needed in addition to existing programs, for the purpose should be raised for freshman students through an annual appeal:

$600,000 from new federal sources
$400,000 from state sources
$400,000 from private sources (students, faculty, business and professional sources, foundations)

Of this about $700,000 was to go to the UNL campus to support about 725 freshman students. It was also estimated that an aid program totalling about eight million dollars would be needed in four years from the time of the report (1975) were the recruitment efforts to be continued and the students followed through their four years. When the committee completed its analytic tasks, it was disbanded. The amount which it said should be sought was never raised.

In 1971–72 and in 1972–73, the University of Nebraska at Lincoln received its usual federal support through Equal Opportunity Grants and other sources (covering some of the money expected from federal programs, but little new money). The situation will be much the same for 1973–74, with the probable addition of Basic Opportunity Grants revenue.

The state picture has been less bright; no special new scholarship funds for low-income and minority students were set aside in 1971–72 (although the tuition waiver program—for 80 students—continued as before and has been expanded for 1973-74 to include 200 more students). In the 1973 Legislative session, possible amendments providing for more funds for minority and low-income scholarships were never introduced after the Legislature, in an economy move, adopted the governor's budget without debate. A loan fund, available for all students—not just low-income and minority—which had been started during the 1971–72 school year, was discontinued after $1,200,000 had been dispensed without adequate return (some students were defaulting on the loans). LB 152, a bill designed to encourage the student loan funds, and another bill to set up a post-secondary education commission, were still pending after the Legislature adjourned in June, 1973.

Work in the private sector was also disappointing. In 1971, students at the University developed a plan for adding $3.50 to every student's "student fee" charge to be used to support low-income scholarships—the Program of Active Commitment to Education (PACE). University counsel, asked to rule by the Board of Regents, held that such a mandatory student fee effort was illegal in Nebraska on the grounds that a student fee, if collected from all students, should be available for use by all students.

As an alternative, the students then devised a plan to include in tuition statements a "negative option," whereby students who did not wish to give the fee were allowed to deduct the $3.50, which had been added for PACE, from their bill. This option was allowed for one year and collected "somewhere in the neighborhood" of $25,000 per semester. Later, the University counsel suggested that the "negative option" was unfair and "created ill feeling" (complaints—some from parents—compared the practice with "negative option" mailings). After that, students who wished to give $3.50 (or $1.75 during summer sessions) to low-income scholarships were required to add the money to the student fee statement. This change diminished collections to about $7,000 per semester.

The faculty administrative drive was even less successful. In the summer of 1970, a special committee raised $14,000, and President Soshnik added $12,000 in presidential funds. In the academic year 1971–72, President Varner wrote a letter encouraging all faculty and administrators to contribute a percentage of their income to low-income and minority student scholarships, and took the lead in doing so himself. The appeal netted a very small amount, considering that UNL has a faculty and administrative staff of more than 900 members. The drive has not been repeated, and no significant efforts have been made to tap outside business or industry or foundation sources.

Thus, of the $700,000 that the committee urged be sought for UNL in 1971-72 (and of the at least $4,000,000—of the system's $8,000,000—described as needed by 1975), about $18,000 was raised for 1971-72 and about $31,000 for 1972-73. Financial aids officials estimate that about $15,000 has been raised for use during the academic year 1973-74.

Why do Students Attend UNL?

A survey made of UNL freshmen in 1971 by the university counseling center indicates that the following reasons were considered by the students as important factors in their decision to come to UNL:[31]

	Male	Female
Relatives	8%	12%
College has good reputation	26	30
Most friends going there	10	9
Low tuition	23	19
Advice of alumnus	13	15
Special curriculum program	18	28
Not accepted elsewhere	1	.5
Guidance counselor	4	4
Wanted to live at home	7	7

Of interest is the low influence that high school guidance counselors had in the decision of the student to attend the institution. Reasons relating to cost (low tuition, wanted to live at home) played a major role in determining the decision to attend UNL.

A survey that might have significance, however, would concern the reasons high school seniors chose not to attend UNL or to go on to post secondary work at all. Why is it that low income students, women, racial minorities, and lower quartile students do not attend a university? Is it their own level of motivation, social pressures or university actions that deter these students from attending a university? How many of these types of students apply to a university and then do not attend? What alternatives do these students take?

This survey, to be meaningful, would have to be for all the post high school institutions in Nebraska. It should evaluate which types of students attend which institutions and why. It should find out who does not go on to post secondary education and why.

After answering these questions, there are some philosophical questions that UNL must answer: What does it mean that the university must be open to all qualified high school graduates? Does this mean a passive "let them come to us" or an active recruiting approach to open admissions? If a passive approach is meant, what about the inequities that exist now with such a policy? Should UNL be an institution which has a disproportionate percentage of white, of male, of Lancaster County, and of middle and upper income students, than exist in the population at large? Is the university willing and able to have available enough financial resources to provide scholarships for an equitable number of low income and minority students? Is the university willing to take steps to draw more women into the institution, particularly in fields like engineering, where they are significantly underrepresented? Is the university willing to alter its attitude toward lower quartile students from discouraging their attendance toward giving them the same opportunity to attend UNL as other students? Will it then provide study skills programs and supportive counseling to keep students from dropping out of the institution?

All of these questions revolve around the issue of who should the university serve. UNL, as an open admissions land-grant institution, is a long way from providing equality of educational opportunity.

(Footnotes are on Page 167.)

POST SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

Seth Brunner

Seth Brunner has interrupted his studies at the University of California at Davis to raise funds for a proposed national student communication network. At Davis he had been working toward a bachelor of arts degree in sociology and political science. He has also collaborated on an undergraduate research center proposal.

The state of California has long been heralded for its higher education system of guaranteed open access. California has indeed been one of the first states responding to the pressures to provide a semblance of opportunity for all its citizens to attend college. These pressures arise largely from the widely accepted and amply documented (Jencks and Riesman, Karabel, Hanson and Wiesbrod) report that college graduates earn a higher income than non-college graduates. In California this additionally means that the University of California graduates earn more than State University graduates, who in turn earn more than graduates of the Community Colleges. Also inherent in the "open access" policies of the state is the belief that there is inherent value in knowledge and education. The state constitution expresses this in declaring: "A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence (is) . . . necessary to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people . . . " (Article IX, Sec. 1).

In providing "universal access," California developed a three-tiered system of higher education including the California Community Colleges (CCC), the California State Universities and Colleges (CSUC), and the University of California (UC). The systems are stratified legislatively to perform different functions. This system grew from a number of pressures and origins dating from the inception of the University in 1868, but has been most recently organized in the Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960–1975. The Master Plan is largely a creation of bargaining between representatives of the three segments in their vying for educational roles in the state.

The 95 community colleges were mandated to accept all California high school graduates, and citizens over the age of eighteen judged "capable of profiting from the instruction offered." CCC officials insist that the community colleges provide universal access to higher education in the state. There seems to be little realization that access to the tuition-free community colleges is only one tier of a stratified system: the lowest tier. The community colleges also provide transfer curriculum for those who wish to transfer to a four-year institution, and provide "vocational-technical" education.

The nineteen CSUS campuses are to accept the top 33⅓ per cent of all California high school graduating seniors. These schools have evolved from state teachers colleges into liberal arts institutions. Masters degrees are offered, and the colleges are authorized to offer a doctorate jointly with the University, although this is rarely done. State funds are not provided for faculty research.

The University of California is to accept the top 12½ per cent of the state's high school graduates and to provide them with a liberal arts and pre-professional education. The University grants the PhD, and has exclusive jurisdiction for law, dental, medical and veterinary medical schools. The University is also the only segment whose faculty is empowered to do research. The doctorate and faculty research issues have long been a sore point between UC and CSUC. During bargaining while writing the Master Plan these were dubbed the "crown jewels."

The California Community Colleges

The community college system is the base of California's claim to universal access. Its non-selective admissions, ready acceptance of part time students, "remedial" courses and non-academic "technical-vocational" courses seem to make it accessible and valuable to all segments of society. The community college is governed by "community leaders" such as businessmen and educators, and maintains an advisory board of industrial leaders to ensure the relevancy of the vocational curriculum.

Data collected by Tillery and Collins in their *School to College, Opportunities for Post-Secondary Education* (SCOPE) project, show that all segments of society do not use the CCCs. Students with family incomes above the average comprise 56 per cent of the CCC population. With those of average income included, the percentage jumps to 79 per cent, leaving little room for lower class students.

FAMILY INCOMES OF SCOPE SENIORS WITH DIFFERENT POST SECONDARY OUTCOMES[a]

POST SECONDARY OUTCOMES		CALIFORNIA					
		Much Higher Than Aver	Higher Than Aver	Aver	Lower Than Aver	Lower Much Than Aver	Total *
NO COLLEGE	NO PLAN TO GO	.11	.27	.26	.10	.04	.78
	PLANNED TO GO	.13	.32	.27	.10	.04	.86
SPECIAL SCHOOLS		.09	.25	.31	.12	.07	.84
JUNIOR COLLEGES**		.16	.40	.23	.07	.03	.89
SENIOR COLLEGES		.29	.43	.15	.05	.01	.93
ALL STUDENTS		.17	.36	.23	.08	.03	.87

* Does not include "Don't know" responses.

** Defined as two years, less than four years.

[a] Dale Tillery and Charles Collins, *College Going In Four States*, unpublished paper, Berkeley Center for Research and Education in Higher Education, 1972.

Cross reveals that of students enrolled in community colleges, those enrolled in the transfer curriculum leading to a four year institution are of a higher socio-economic status (SES) than those in vocational-technical curriculum.[1] Of the latter group, those enrolled in the more sophisticated technical programs are of a higher SES than those in the vocational programs.

Most students from a lower income background are channelled into vocational training programs. These courses train students for positions in fields such as secretarial work, auto mechanics, hotel management, printing, welding, and woodworking—jobs all low in income, low in social prestige and responsibility, and some of the most expendable in times of economic hardships. These students will make considerably less than their brethren in four year programs. These courses are worthless for transfer students, described by one UC admissions officer as "garbage courses." The supposed irrelevancy of these courses hurts the student who decides to elect a transfer program. The student must prolong his or her stay in college, thereby losing potential income, meeting with extended college expenses and essentially being punished for his or her unsurety and experimentation. Even regular transfer students are limited in their non-academic courses and cannot profit from an integrated schedule of academic and non-academic courses. Such strict limitations on the courses students can profitably take toward a degree discourage those from backgrounds where college attendance is not heavily emphasized. This amounts to a subtle encouragement to remain in the vocational courses. The problem is magnified by a counseling system which reinforces this discouragement. Realligning students' expectations to better fit their "academic potential" is a common practice of counselors. Vocational courses are not only "garbage courses" in the eyes of the University, but are also looked down upon by community college faculty and the larger society. Community college faculty place a greater value on technical and semi-professional programs than on preemployment training and the re-training of the unemployed.

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[1](Footnotes are on Page 168.)

FACULTY ATTITUDES TOWARD ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION*

	Faculty attitudes in percent		
Program	Essential	Optional	Inappropriate
Technical or semiprofessional two-year program	85	14	1
Preemployment curricula for skilled and semiskilled employment	50	37	11
Preemployment or in-service training for adults	34	54	12
Retraining of technologically unemployed adults	27	54	18
Short-term occupational programs	21	49	26

Approximately 1 percent nonresponse not shown.

* Medsker, unpublished data from study of 57 junior colleges, 1967.

Spiro Agnew has articulated a widespread societal view of community colleges reflecting the perspective of the faculty. Said Agnew, if the City University of New York adopted an open admissions procedure, it would be in the business of granting "bargain basement diplomas," and would be transformed into a "four year community college."[2] One can conjure up the image of property values declining if community college graduates move into the neighborhood. CCC students, however, enter with two thirds of their number intending to transfer to a four year institution. Only half of that number do transfer. The Newman Report on Higher Education estimates that of students entering community colleges nationally, only 15 per cent will ever receive a baccalaureate. These figures become increasingly sobering when one realizes that 87 per cent of entering freshmen in California enroll in community colleges. More than 50 per cent will not enroll for their second year.

The California State Universities and Colleges

The California State Universities and Colleges began like most state colleges nationally, as teacher training institutions or "normal" schools. CSUC's emergence into a liberal arts curriculum is relatively recent. In 1935 the state's Teachers Colleges enrolled 7,000 students. In 1940 enrollment had reached 10,000. The master of science degree was instituted in 1955. There were twelve campuses in 1957; today there are nineteen, with the last campus at Bakersfield coming in 1967. The 1960 Master Plan created a central administration, along with the position of chancellor.

The CSUC system has grown rapidly, diversifying from its teacher training role not two decades ago, recently rising into competition for status with the University. Since the Master Plan, CSUC has been the segment most uncomfortable with its role, having settled for a somewhat undefined middle role of undergraduate education and the master's degree. This discomfort is due in part to an influx of faculty trained to do research but paid to teach. As if to underscore their discomfort, the California State Colleges in 1972 changed their name to the California State Universities and Colleges, the larger units acquiring the name and status of "a university." Chancellor Glen Dumke led this fight for increased academic status by requesting a decrease in teaching load from twelve to nine hours weekly, and for recognition of research as a part of the faculty workload.

The student population of CSUC is distinct from the more academically oriented UC population. Lee Kershner, Assistant Executive Vice Chancellor, in testimony before the Joint Committee on the Master Plan, stated:

> It should be noted . . . that the typical California State College student is 24 years of age, comes from a family with an average income of approximately $9,000, and is less likely than most college students to be dependent on his parents (45 per cent of the entire student population and almost one third of the full time student body are self-supporting). Moreover, he is much more likely to be borrowing and working than receiving scholarship or grant support.[3]

This student will also more likely be married and have dependents, be pressured personally and socially to hold a job, and be pressured to repay the college loan he or she has borrowed. This student is also limited in his or her access to graduate work; disadvantages include the need for more borrowing because of higher fees, a higher foregone income, and the fact that Universities frown on part-time doctoral work. A CSUC report on retention cites a description of the CSUC graduate:

> The "typical" California State College baccalaureate graduate in the study was born in California, graduated from a California high school with a 2.85 grade point average, and scored in the upper percentiles of his aptitude test for college entrance. He entered a California public junior college at the age of 18 and transferred to a "non-proximate" California State College. He pursued a social science or humanities major and maintained the same major for the duration of his study at the campus from which he graduated. He took six and one-half years to graduate

> because, though he attended college two semesters per year, he earned only 13.5 units per semester, and accumulated a total of 135 units for graduation. The "typical" graduate graduated when he was nearly 26 years of age, established a grade point average at the reporting college of 2.67, was on probation one half term, and stood a ten per cent chance of being dismissed (for academic reasons).[4]

What this report declined to say is that CSUC students are also quite disproportionately white. Black students comprise 4.8 per cent of the student population, Chicanos 5.4 per cent, Asians 5.0 per cent, Native Americans 1.0 per cent and Caucasians 83.9 per cent.[5]

E. Alden Dunham has described State College students nationally, paraphrasing a Richard Nixon campaign slogan, as the "forgotten Americans." These students, Dunham says, hold "middle class values. These people are not Black, poor, rich, or in the headlines."[6] If one concedes Dunham's analogy, the "forgotten Americans" are doing little better at completing their education in CSUC than are the "everymen" of the CCC, or the modern aristocrats of the University. Only 29 per cent of the students have graduated in five years with 9 per cent still attending, and 15 per cent transferred out to other institutions. These figures suggest that only 50 per cent at best will complete their baccalaureate.

ATTRITION AND PERSISTENCE PERCENT DISTRIBUTION FOR CSUC[7]

Graduate in four years	Graduate in five years	Still attending
13%	16%	9%
Transferred out	Academic dismissal	Withdrew in good standing
15%	13%	23%
	Withdrew grade point average down	
	9%	

The University of California

The University of California is the highest tier in the state system. The University grants the doctorate and has exclusive medical, dental, law and veterinary medicine professional degree-granting status. The nine campuses of the University, admitting the top 12½ per cent of the state's high school graduates as measured by academic rank, is generally considered to be the most stringent state university in the country in terms of admissions standards.

The University has a student population with a median parental income of $12,600—$4,000 above the state median. The University correspondingly has the smallest minority population of the three tiers. Black students account for 3.6 per cent of the student population, Chicanos 3.2 per cent, Asians 7.3 per cent, Native Americans 0.6 per cent, and Caucasians 85.2 per cent.[8] Of this minority population, 83 per cent of the Black students, 72 per cent of the Chicano students, 16 per cent of the Asians, and 48 per cent of the Native American students were admitted under the economic opportunity program, which admits students usually not academically qualified for the University.

UC does not admit part-time students, and until the academic year 1971–72 did not allow students to take a leave of absence from their studies. Since the

University is the only public institution in California accredited for research, it is constantly embattled over classroom versus research priorities. The courses are pre-professional and entirely academic and liberal arts. Tuition is the highest of the three tiers.

These policies create a largely white, middle to upper-middle class student population, coming directly from high school and isolated from non-academic experiences.

Socio-Economic Status and Ethnic Background

By measure of both SES and ethnicity, California has failed to provide a true measure of universal access. The "open door" in fact carefully screens students along ethnic and economic lines. By SES and ethnicity the accessibility of higher education has merely been inflated to allow access to the lower levels but restrict it at the more prestigious institutions. Tillery and Collins in their analysis of SCOPE data observe,

> Apparently, the open door, no-tuition community colleges in California serve to let the senior colleges off the hook; allows them to be less concerned about providing for the low SES student.[9]

SCOPE data from four states (California, Illinois, Massachusetts, and North Carolina) reveal that students from higher levels of SES are heavily favored to attend some type of post-secondary institution. This ranged from the highest level, professional, at 82 per cent, to the lowest, workingman, at 33 per cent. In California a higher ratio of upper class students attend the four year colleges than do lower class students. Additionally, the college going rate is higher for students with high family incomes.

PERCENTAGE OF 1966 SCOPE SENIORS ATTENDING COLLEGE FROM HOMES OF DIFFERING OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS*

Father's Occupation	Percent of SCOPE Seniors in College
Very High Level	
Professional (High)	.82
Elected Officials	.72
Managers—Executives	.71
Professional (Low)	.70
High Level	
Artists and Entertainers	.63
Salesmen	.63
Business owners	.61
Technicians	.60
Office Workers	.60
Moderate Level	
Skilled Craftsmen	.46
Farm Owner	.46
Service Worker	.45
Low Level	
Machine Operator	.35
Workman	.33

* Tillery and Collins.

DIFFERING INCOME LEVELS*

	Family Income (in thousands) (1)	% in Income Bracket (2)
U. of Cal.	$ 0–6	15.2
	6–9	11.8
	9–12	13.4
	12–15	13.7
	15–21	19.7
	21+	26.2
CSUC	$ 0–6	21.0
	6–9	16.1
	9–12	17.6
	12–15	15.3
	15–21	16.8
	21+	13.2
CC	$ 0–6	25.2
	6–9	19.0
	9–12	16.0
	12–15	14.2
	15–21	14.1
	21+	11.5
Independents	$ 0–6	14.4
	6–9	12.0
	9–12	13.9
	12–15	14.0
	15–21	18.4
	21+	27.3

* Academy for Educational Development, *Financing Post-Secondary Education in California*, Report for the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education, October, 1972.

The ethnic composition of the students, not surprisingly, does not differ from the SES in betraying the exclusion of socially "deviant" classes from California higher education.

	Black	Chicano	Asian	Amer. Indian	White
State population	12.5	16.0	2.5	1.3	67.7
High School grads	7.3	12.1	2.5	.4	76.9
CCC	8.4	7.9	3.4	1.2	77.9
CSUC	4.8	5.4	5.0	1.0	83.9
UC	3.6	3.2	7.3	0.6	85.2

row 1: census figures
row 2: Cal. dept of education
row 3: Office of Chancellor, CCC, May 1, 1972
row 4: HEW Compliance Report, CSUC, 1971
row 5: Office of President, UC, 1-12172

SCOPE data shows clearly that the aspirations of minority students do not account for this disproportionate lack of representation in the academic community.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF 1969 SCOPE SENIORS BY RACE*

RACE	STATE	EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS				
		High School Only	Some College	4-year Graduate	Post-Graduate	Total
CAUCASIAN	CALIFORNIA	.11	.29	.39	.21	1.00
NEGRO		.17	.28	.31	.24	1.00
AMERICAN INDIAN		.36	.35	.17	.12	1.00
ORIENTAL		.09	.22	.40	.29	1.00
MEXICAN AMERICAN/ SPANISH AMERICAN		.20	.40	.28	.12	1.00
OTHER		.21	.39	.26	.14	1.00

* Tillery and Collins.

Four state data does show that it is mostly the whites who occupy the spaces in institutions granting higher degrees. By extension, these degrees confer more prestige and are more likely to catapult their students into graduate programs, and into the higher SES levels.

Counseling

Guidance and counseling in the high schools plays a large role in regulating access to higher education. A widespread inability to cope with non-ideal characteristics has made these services nearly useless, and often repressive. Vontress shows an example of such difficulties in citing that financial barriers contribute to parent apathy and ignorance of the possibility of college for the student. "Herein lies a baffling problem in counseling them for college. The parents' indifference, apathy and ignorance may be disarming to a counselor who has been accustomed to counseling middle class white parents about college plans for their children. Sending a son or daughter to college requires early planning."[10] Counseling is heavily slanted toward middle class standards and values, including "proper respect" for teachers and authority figures in the schools, proper reverence for learning materials and a predisposition to learning, reading, etc. Skager and Weinberg in a study of Los Angeles high school counseling report:

> The amount of career counseling students receive is clearly related to the extent of their participation in highly valued school activities. If this type of counseling is any measure of the concern of the bureaucracy of the school with the future of the student, then the rights of the student, and treatment accorded students appear to be founded to an important degree on who they are within the micro-society of the school.[11]

SCOPE data reveals much about high school counseling. Of students who attend a four year college, 62 per cent found guidance to be helpful. With Junior College students the figure is 43 per cent. Amazingly, college was not discussed with 35 per cent of Junior College students. (See chart next page.) As SCOPE data has already shown, 72 per cent of the four year college students are from homes with incomes above the average.

The effect of this counseling situation is evident in surveys undertaken by Martyn for the Joint Committee on Higher Education.[12] These findings show an overwhelming percentage of Black and Chicano students desiring more information about getting into college, about college courses, and about college financial aid programs.

EVALUATION OF HELPFULNESS OF HIGH SCHOOL GUIDANCE CONCERNING COLLEGE BY SCOPE SENIORS WITH DIFFERENT POSTSECONDARY OUTCOMES[a]

POSTSECONDARY OUTCOMES		CALIFORNIA				
		Very Helpful	Helpful	Not Helpful	Not Discussed	Total
NO COLLEGE	NO PLAN TO GO	.08	.26	.27	.39	1.00
	PLANNED TO GO	.12	.29	.25	.34	1.00
SPECIAL SCHOOLS		.16	.31	.22	.31	1.00
JUNIOR COLLEGES*		.11	.30	.24	.35	1.00
SENIOR COLLEGES		.20	.42	.20	.18	1.00
ALL STUDENTS		.13	.32	.24	.31	1.00

* Defined as two years, less than four years.

[a] Tillery and Collins.

PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL-AGE YOUTH WHO WOULD LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT COLLEGE COSTS*

	BLACK		MEXICAN	
	#	%	#	%
Would like to know more about college costs	160	64.0	204	81.6
Would not like to know more about college costs	38	35.2	39	15.6

* Kenneth A. Martyn, "Increasing Opportunities for Disadvantaged Students," paper for the Joint Committee on Higher Education of the California Legislature, 1968.

PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL-AGE YOUTH WHO WOULD LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT GETTING INTO COLLEGE*

	BLACK		MEXICAN	
	#	%	#	%
Would like to know more about getting into college	162	64.8	197	78.8
Would not like to know more about getting into college	86	34.4	47	18.8

* Martyn.

PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL-AGE YOUTH WHO WOULD LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT COLLEGE COURSES*

	BLACK		MEXICAN	
	#	%	#	%
Would like to know more about college courses	162	64.8	222	84.8
Would not like to know more about college courses	35	34.0	33	13.2

* Martyn.

Financial Aid

Yearly tuition at the University of California is $638. At CSUC it is $162. There is no tuition at the community colleges. Combined tuition and costs of expenses for students at both public and private institutions creates an estimated need for aid of $497 million. The 1972–73 governor's budget reports that $252 million in aid is available, some $150 million for loans. Thus, there is a gap between need and aid of some $245 million. Considering only public institutions, the gap is $184 million.[13] (See chart on alternative pricing patterns.)

The effects of this tuition situation is to force lower income students into CSUC and CCC, with the result that as CSUC students they will make less money when they graduate, and as CCC students are unlikely to receive a bachelor's degree at all. There is inadequate financial aid to meet student need. What aid is available is weighted toward loans. For UC students receiving no support from their families, there will be a need of $8,416 over the course of four years. If a large portion of this sum is borrowed, the students are in danger of entering a state of indentured servitude. Tillery and Collins note that:

> It is ironic yet true that at every level of higher education, including the low-cost community college, those who are poorer subsidize the children of those who are richer. For example, University of California students during the mid-1960's averaged $5,000 in public subsidy (actual operational cost per student minus tuition paid by the student), state college students averaged $3,800 in public subsidy, and the 40 per cent of California youth who did not go to any college got $0 in public subsidy. The

COMPUTATION OF STUDENT AID REQUIREMENTS UNDER ALTERNATIVE PRICING PATTERNS*

(Confined to California Undergraduate Students)

PRESENT PRICING PATTERN

	Family Income (000) (1)	% in Income Bracket (2)	No. Students in Bracket (3)	Expected Parental Contribution (4)	Student Budget (5)	Aid Needed Per Stu. (6)	Total Aid Required (000) (7)
U. of Cal.	$ 0–6	15.2	9,926	$ 0	$2,066	$2,104	$ 20,884
	6–9	11.8	7,705	391	+ 638	1,713	13,199
	9–12	13.4	8,750	1,012	2,704	1,092	9,555
	12–15	13.7	8,946	1,559	— 600	545	4,897
	15–21	19.7	12,864	2 571	Total $2,104	—	Total $ 48,514
	21+	26.2	17,109	3,364		—	
			Total 65,300				
CSUC	$ 0–6	21.0	38 872	$ 0	$2,032	$1,594	$ 61,962
	6–9	16.1	29,802	391	+ 162	1,203	35,852
	9–12	17.6	32 578	1,012	2,194	582	18,960
	12–15	15.3	28,321	1,559	— 600	35	991
	15–21	16.8	31,097	2 571	Total $1,594	—	Total $117,765
	21+	13.2	24,433	3,364		—	
			Total 185,103				
CC	$ 0–6	25.2	132 567	$ 0	$1,739	$1,139	$150,994
	6–9	19.0	99,951	391	+ 0	948	74,763
	9–12	16.0	84,169	1,012	1,739	127	10,689
	12–15	14.2	74,700	1 559	— 600	—	Total $236,446
	15–21	14.1	74,174	2 571	Total $1,139	—	
	21+	11.5	60,497	3 364			
			Total 526,058				
				TOTAL AID REQUIRED PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS		—	$402,725
Independents	$ 0–6	14.4	7,836	$ 0	$1,924	$3,528	$ 27,645
	6–9	12.0	6 530	391	+2,204	3,137	20,485
	9–12	13.9	7,564	1,012	4,128	2,516	19,031
	12–15	14.0	7,618	1,559	— 600	1,969	15,000
	15–21	18.4	10,012	2 [illegible] 1	Total 3,528	957	9,581
	21+	27.3	14,855	3,364		164	2,436
			Total 54,415				Total $ 94,178
				TOTAL AID REQUIRED			$496,903

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* Academy for Educational Development.

> average incomes of the parents of each student group were $12,000 (UC), $10,000 (CSUC) and $8,500 (JC) (Hanson and Weisbrod, 1969). Thus, the average subsidy received at UC is 30 per cent greater than that received by SC students and 400 per cent greater than the JC subsidy—in spite of the fact that "need," as reflected by family income, runs in the opposite direction. (*New Republic*, Sept. 6, 1969, p 23.)[14]

This passage is part of a growing amount of evidence that it is the higher social classes that benefit most from low cost tuition plans. There is a need to guarantee no-cost higher education for those in need.

The Ability Myth

Much of the channeling of the "deviant" classes in California society is based on the "ability myth." The myth dictates that the "academically qualified" students receive the best treatment. The effect of this is to *de facto* maintain a racial and class quota system. The state correspondingly invests more in the elite systems. UC spends 20 per cent more per student than the CSUC and nearly 300 per cent more than the CCC's. Library expenditures alone are 40 per cent higher for UC than CSUC.

COST PER STUDENT PER SEGMENT[15]

UC	CSUC	CCC
$2529	$2059	$890

SCOPE shows that this quota system is evidently successful in tracking those

DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC ABILITY OF SCOPE SENIORS WITH DIFFERENT POST SECONDARY OUTCOMES[a]

POSTSECONDARY OUTCOMES		ACADEMIC ABILITY								
		CALIFORNIA								
		1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8**	Total
NO. COLLEGE	NO PLAN TO GO	.02	.04	.08	.09	.14	.19	.22	.22	1.00
	PLANNED TO GO	.05	.08	.10	.12	.12	.17	.18	.17	1.00
SPECIAL SCHOOLS		.02	.01	.06	.14	.09	.22	.24	.22	1.00
JUNIOR COLLEGES***		.05	.11	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.06	1.00
SENIOR COLLEGES		.40	.21	.16	.09	.07	.05	.01	.01	1.00
ALL STUDENTS		.14	.12	.12	.11	.13	.13	.14	.11	1.00

* Highest octile or top 12.5%.

** Lowest octile or bottom 12.5%.

*** Defined as two years, less than four years.

[a] Tillery and Collins.

students with measured ability into the higher level institutions. The Legislative Joint Committee on Higher Education and Pat Cross confirm this.

SCOPE also documents the positive relationship between ability and parental income, 43 per cent of students from the top quartile come from families with the highest income level, while 16 per cent come from families with the lowest level. The system is obviously rigged.

FAMILY INCOME OF SCOPE SENIORS COMPARED TO AAT[*] QUARTILES[a]

FAMILY INCOME	ABILITY LEVEL				
	Bottom Quartile	Third Quartile	Second Quartile	Top Quartile	Total
MUCH HIGHER	.12	.21	.24	.43	1.00
HIGHER	.14	.23	.27	.36	1.00
AVERAGE	26	.30	.23	.21	1.00
LOWER	.34	.29	.20	.17	1.00
MUCH LOWER	.42	.25	.17	.16	1.00

[*] Academic Aptitude Tests.

[a] Joint Committee on Higher Education, California Legislature, *Challenge to Achievement*, 1968.

Annual reports from the UC and CSUC Economic Opportunity Programs show that with even limited support systems students normally excluded can match arbitrary "academic qualifications" and do it more efficiently. The drop-out rate is substantially lower than normal rates.

The EOP program takes lower income, largely unqualified students, pays their tuition and living expenses, and provides them with personal and academic guidance. The 1972 University EOP report states that the overall grade point average (GPA) for all students was 2.87. For EOP students the GPA was 2.56, a figure not significantly below the overall score, and well above the 2.00 GPA required to remain in good standing. By measure of retention, EOP has proved vastly more successful than the regular UC population, probably due to the presence of special supportive services. Of those admitted in Fall 1969, 92 per cent returned in Fall 1970, and 88 per cent in Fall 1971.[16]

The CSUC EOP program has been less successful than the UC program. However, both programs have remained above the retention GPA's, and not substantially below the systemwide averages. Cumulative median GPA through June

1971 was 2.57; for EOP the figure was 2.15. Regular attrition rates are 20.4 per cent. EOP 21.1 per cent.[17]

COMPARISON OF CUMULATIVE GRADE POINT AVERAGE AND ATTRITION RATE FALL 1969 ENTERING EOP STUDENTS AND REGULAR STUDENT SAMPLE*

Campus	Cumulative Median G.P.A. through June 1970		Cumulative Median G.P.A. through June 1971		Attrition Rate	
	Regular	EOP	Regular	EOP	Regular	EOP
Chico	2.65	2.47	2.65	2.38	10.0%	23.3%
Dominguez Hills	2.73	2.09	2.83	2.00	37.9	35.5
Fresno	2.63	2.33	2.69	2.33	12.7	32.6
Fullerton	2.55	2.23	2.63	2.42	13.3	39.5
Hayward	2.73	2.56	2.88	2.03	26.7	20.6
Long Beach	2.45	2.44	2.59	2.39	19.4	19.2
Los Angeles	2.71	1.96	2.83	1.98	19.6	29.2
Cal Poly, K.V.	2.30	2.23	2.54	2.13	28.1	11.6
Sacramento	2.96	2.42	2.92	2.20	12.5	19.6
San Bernardino	2.58	2.21	2.50	2.13	45.5	16.7
San Diego	2.86	2.58	2.86	2.57	13.9	26.1
San Fernando	2.59	2.50	2.61	2.29	20.5	12.0
San Francisco	2.83	2.61	2.67	2.48	21.3	15.0
San Jose	2.71	2.53	2.68	2.35	16.7	20.5
Cal Poly, SLO	2.33	2.13	2.44	2.33	25.3	20.0
Sonoma	2.96	2.75	3.02	2.48	16.7	15.6
Stanislaus	2.92	2.21	2.83	2.29	25.7	9.1
Systemwide	2.53	2.24	2.57	2.15	20.4	21.1

* Tillery and Collins.

The ability barrier is simply a political mythology that perpetuates a system of tracking students into appropriate institutions and programs, discriminating along ethnic and economic lines.

Academic Aparthied

Even recognizing the mythology that perpetuates the stratified system of higher education, there is nothing that ensures a high quality of education for a diverse student population, or the learning of material valuable to the student. Even if all interested students were admitted to the University there is little evidence that this experience, except monetarily, would be profitable. It is this limited spectrum of material that itself discourages students and is a barrier to a democratic utilization of educational resources.

Alexander Astin advances evidence that colleges have little to do with the performance and achievements of their students. The qualities that account for this were acquired prior to attendance.[18] Cross and Hoyt have also noted the lack of correlation between college grades and adult achievement, however defined.[19] These findings reflect the reality of higher education being offered exclusively in an academic mold and along academic disciplines. This has long been the proud claim of the

University. The state colleges, however, have followed suit, as the name change and discussion over increased structural similarities indicate. The community colleges have also been sucked into the mold. Faculty interests have been toward such professional accoutrements as the heavy emphasis on transfer curriculum. The Newman Report expresses its own national findings:

> Thousands of students are in active rebellion against "irrelevance" in curriculum. There are many sources of this tension . . . but one certainly is the narrow professional assumptions on which the typical curriculum is based. The drive of the social sciences and humanities faculties to conform to the model of the pure sciences has alienated many very able students whose response, if they do not drop out altogether, has taken the form of demands for off-campus experience, the invention of anti-courses for nominal credit, and vigorous, if vague, laments that most academic study does not assist but actually enervates action and feeling.[20]

Jencks and Riesman in *The Academic Revolution* give another perspective of the academic model of learning, noting that "most young people find academic work disagreeable. Many will revise their career goals downward to escape it."[21] They also reveal that "the most striking fact about America, at least to us, is the extent to which the verdict of academicians on the young is accepted by men who have little apparent sympathy for academic values."[22]

The academic model confines the student to a detailed scholarly work and perception of knowledge. This knowledge is carefully compartmentalized into disciplines and is generally consumed by lectures and reading, is useful to respond to computerized tests and is rewarded by A to F letter symbols. This model of learning tends to dehumanize students as subjects suitable only to consume a static body of "facts." The faculty pride themselves on their objectivity and critical worldview, but what critical teaching does occur is at the graduate level. The rest of these students do not learn critical skills that can be useful in a variety of fields, situations, and occupational pursuits. The academic model is limited in its usefulness. Its limitations are a barrier to students who carry different life experiences, means of expression and ways of looking at the world.

Conclusions

Open access in California is a "paper tiger." The system remains heavily white and upper class, especially at the top where the benefits will be higher. Only the bottom tier remains open for minority and low income students. Throughout the system there are insufficient resources committed to the task of educating students from traditionally excluded classes. The rationale for the exclusion, academic ability, is political mythology that regulates access to higher levels of the system.

Community colleges supposedly provide unrestricted access, where students with motivation can make the grade to attend a "senior college." Yet 56 per cent of the students are from families with above average income and 77.9 per cent are white. Students in the more prestigious programs are from a higher SES. There is little experimentation allowed because of an intolerance for mixing technical and academic programs. Community colleges are not appreciated by the larger society or by their own faculties for the most distinctive role they play: technical and vocational education. The dropout rate is scandalous. Only 15 per cent will ever actually attain a degree.

What lower class students do attend institutions of higher education in California are channeled into the lower echelons of the system. There is inadequate financial aid to compensate for a tuition that increases at the higher levels of the system. There is a lack of supportive counseling.

Perhaps the most serious barriers to access are: A) the critieria for admission, academic ability; and B) the criteria for retention, adjustment to the academic model of learning.

The "ability" requirement is based on the assumption that ability, as measured by grade point averages in high school, is a determinant of success in higher education. This is not the case, as the EOP report indicates. The use of academic critieria results in matching the top stratas of parental income to the higher levels of the higher education system. Students with low measured ability do not suffer from a lack of inherent intelligence and ability, as much as they do from a narrow educational system that had proven unresponsive to their needs. The measure of a public educational system is the education it provides to *all* of society's children.

Students entering college in California are confined to learning in an academic model. This is not appropriate to the learning needs of large numbers of students. Its relevance to adult achievement is negligible. Its narrowness denies the potential of diverse learning experiences. This model of learning, based on skills acquired from the middle classes, regulates access to material and social benefits, perpetuating current social and economic inequities.

Open access in California, long heralded as a reality, is an illusion. The system is rigidly stratified, with controls regulating who gets in. The potential of providing a diverse number of learning experiences in the various strata of the system has been squelched by the preservation of a status system. The "open door" in California leads to the basement, with the penthouse reserved for those who have always been privileged enough to be accepted.

(Footnotes are on Page 168.)

OPEN ADMISSIONS AT THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK: A CASE STUDY

David Rosen

David Rosen was graduated from Columbia University in January, 1972, with a bachelor of arts degree in political science. He has several years' experience in field research and as an undergraduate he wrote extensively on issues of community control of public schools. He has been working with the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers since November, 1971, as chairman of the Student Committee.

INTRODUCTION

At no other American institution of higher education is such a serious effort being given to make open admissions work than at the City University of New York. Ostensibly, CUNY is taking great pains to provide for the needs of students entering the university through open admissions. Every New York City resident with a high school diploma is guaranteed a seat; there is no tuition; every college has altered its curriculum in at least mathematics and English to better suit underprepared students; financial aid is available; everywhere people say they are determined to prevent CUNY's open door from turning into a revolving door; after two years of open admissions, virtually no one has been flunked out. However, despite this list of admirable accomplishments, which indeed paint a glowing picture of CUNY's advanced social conscience, the educational and political issues surrounding open admissions are far too complex to be glossed over with such simplistic pats on the back. Each of these characteristics of the open admissions program at CUNY is perforated with glaring inadequacies. For example, School of General Studies students who graduated high school prior to Fall, 1970 are not eligible to enroll through open admissions. They must enroll at night and pay $18.00 a credit per term at the senior colleges, $15.00 at the community colleges. In the Fall of 1970 there were 48,000 undergraduates paying such fees.[1] Even though there is no tuition for students enrolled in regular programs at the colleges, it is estimated that the *cost* of attending CUNY for the "average" student is $1,300 per year, *not* including contributing to room and board at home.[2] The effectiveness of remedial math and English programs is highly subject to question; the second-class status and stigma attached with enrollment in these programs is undeniable. Though available, financial aid is severely inadequate, particularly with the large recent cutbacks in Economic Opportunity Grants. And though the open door has to date remained open, many seriously question the ability of the institution to sustain the sort of educational overhauling necessary to prevent a de facto return to past exclusionary practices; the increase in attrition rates since the start of open admissions is not insignificant.

Even these criticisms must be tempered, for CUNY is operating in a morass of seemingly insoluble difficulties. The municipal and state budgets, through which the institution is funded, are in a perpetual state of crisis. For fiscal 72–73Rockefeller was committed to a zero increase state budget, putting CUNY in a tremendous fiscal crunch. The realities of providing for the needs of underprepared students can be traumatic to a traditional liberal arts faculty. What does a professor of Shakespeare do when faced with a student who reads at a sixth grade level? These are very real educational dilemmas that must be faced daily. How does an institution with CUNY's commitment to providing a free higher education to the ethnically heterogeneous population of New York City cope with the social tensions existing among the various groups? For example, allocation policy modifications bring cries of "quota system!"—a move which particularly exacerbates relations between Jews and Blacks in the city.

Given these complexities then, an analysis of how open admissions has worked at CUNY must be sensitive to the depth of the issues and to the seriousness of the mission. The purpose of this paper is to explicate in detailed fashion precisely how the open admissions program at the various campuses of CUNY has been implemented and administrated, to understand how the educational philosophy inherent to open access has been translated into educational program, and to understand the social, political and economic milieu in which open admissions at the City University exists. The paper is organized in the following fashion. There is a brief history of CUNY, followed by a description of the events surrounding the policy decision to implement open admissions in the Fall of 1970. A description of the university-wide measures for implementation follows, outlining the framework within which the individual colleges worked. After this is an explication of the open admissions programs at sixteen of the eighteen campuses of CUNY.[3] The paper concludes with an analysis of four key issue areas connected with open admissions: access and allocation, remediation, budget and attrition.

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[1] **(Footnotes are on Page 169.)**

The methodology for the research was fairly straightforward. Scores of interviews were conducted with administrators, teachers and students from all parts of the university, its campuses and the central offices on East 80th Street. Because this paper is more concerned with process than personality, the information from the interviews will not be directly quoted and confidentiality in most cases will be maintained. Reams of documents and statistics were also gathered from the same sources, including the Office of Data Collection and Evaluation. Taping sessions were run with groups of students and teachers discussing their experiences under open admissions.

To avoid false pretenses, the limitations of the research should be clearly set forth here. There are three. First, the scope of this endeavor is mammoth. A full length study could be written of each unit of CUNY. To attempt an analysis of the entire university is a task that should rightly employ an army of researchers and staffers. There is an uneveness in the degree of completeness with which each unit is covered. The task of synthesizing a mountain of quantitative data with the qualitative data necessary for a complete understanding is also an enormous one. Here again the constraints of time and available people power prevent a purely complete analysis. Second, there are serious gaps in the data CUNY itself has available. For example, there is no systematic analysis of the cost of open admissions, nor is there any university-wide system of accounting other than on a scheduled line basis.[4] The third limitation arises out of CUNY's refusal to release specific data which it does have.The refusals inevitably arose out of a fear that the information would be "misused" o: "misinterpreted," or that the existing data was not "good" enough or was available only in raw form. The issue of confidentiality will be dealt with later, and the precise data that was suppressed by the institution will be indicated in its proper context.

Brief History of CUNY

> Open the doors to all. Let the Children of the
> rich and the poor take their seats together
> and know of no distinction save that of
> industry, good conduct, and intellect.[5]

The Free Academy in New York was founded in 1847. When it opened in 1849 it had 200 students, an operating budget of $20,000 and a $50,000 commitment for construction from the New York Board of Supervisors. Since then it has increased its enrollment more than one thousand fold and its budget by more than twenty thousand fold. In 1866 the Free Academy, a men's college, became the College of the City of New York; tuition was free to all those admitted. To meet the need for teachers in the public school system, the Board of Education turned the School for Female Monitors into the Normal College in 1870. This later became Hunter College. After several structural changes in the governance of the College of the City of New York, the State Legislature in 1927 established the Board of Higher Education to handle "that part of the public school system within the City which is of collegiate grade and which leads to academic, technical and professional degrees." From the beginning the College was seen as an extension of the public school system in New York City, to provide free higher education to those who wanted it—and qualified for it.

In the 1930's two colleges were established, Brooklyn College and Queens College. The City College system began to assume its own institutional identity, though the individual colleges maintained their own autonomy. With the creation of the State University of New York in 1948, the State Legislature provided for the allocation of state aid to locally sponsored two year colleges. The aid was to come under the general supervision of the Trustees of the State University. This created a two-faced funding model for the City College system, with the senior colleges clearly under the supervision of the New York City Board of Higher Education and the community colleges, though under the administrative authority of the BHE, more directly accountable to the Board of Trustees for CUNY. This dualism created an administrative and budgetary tension and complexity that exists today. State allocation was also made to the City College system for teacher training. Though complicating the governance of the City College system, the new state support broadened the financial base and the educational scope of the system. Three community colleges were established in the mid-1950's under the Board of Higher Education: Staten Island Community College (1955), Bronx Community College (1957), and Queensborough Community College (1958). At the same time the City College system was expanding its offerings in post-graduate education with the development of Master's degree programs in liberal arts, engineering and business.

Following the recommendation of a BHE appointed committee concerned with governance, Rockefeller in 1961 signed into law an amendment to the Education Law that created the City University of New York. The Board of Higher education, whose members would continue to be appointed for nine year terms by the Mayor, was to govern the University. All the educational institutions under the Board's control were to be known as divisions of the City University.

Tensions between the administration and personnel of the colleges and the central CUNY offices developed after the amalgamation of the colleges into a single mammoth institution. Many administrators and teachers have voiced resentment over the administrative control of the central office on East 80th Street. They cite an insensitivity to the special problems of their own campus, an inflexible and complex budget allocation system which prevents innovation and proper planning, and the standard maze of bureaucratic red tape. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense of identity with CUNY as an institution, with enough cohesion to sustain major university-wide policy changes.

CUNY entered into a period of enormous growth with the inauguration of Albert Bowker in 1963 as the University's second Chancellor. Bowker was a master politician, one of the few men in New York City politics who consistently won the battles he assumed. His first within CUNY was with the BHE over the administrative control of the University. Prior to Bowker's reign, the Board not only made policy but also directed the administration of CUNY. The new Chancellor challenged this unspoken agreement between the Board and administration, and after what some have described as an "immense struggle," emerged the decided victor. It was, as will be seen, Al Bowker who engineered the implementation of open admissions; and it was Al Bowker, without question, who ran CUNY from 1963 to the time of his departure for Berkeley in 1971. Under Bowker's regime the sixties witnessed the creation of the Graduate Center in 1965, four new senior colleges: John Jay College of Criminal Justice (1964), Richmond College (1965), York College (1966), and Medgar Evers College (1968); the establishment of four additional community colleges: Borough of Manhattan Community College (1963), Kingsborough Community College (1963), Eugenia Mara de Hostos Community College (1968), and Fiorello H. La Guardia Community College (1968). With this physical growth of CUNY came heightened awareness of CUNY's role as a major provider of the opportunity for upward mobility in New York City. The migration of hundreds of thousands of blacks from the South and hispanic people from Latin America sharpened the need for increased social service occupations. The issues surrounding equal opportunity, from the school integration fights of the fifties and sixties, the welfare fights of the sixties and the issue of community control constantly focused public attention on how poorly government, institution and bureaucracy were meeting the needs of a socio-economically diverse population. CUNY was in the midst of this maelstrom of political activity, and did not remain unaffected by it. As the Wagner Commission has stated:

> In a very real sense the mission of the City University has paralleled that of New York City. Both have served as gateways to opportunity for sucessive waves of newcomers. CUNY's development is tied to New York City's in other ways as well. Through all its stages, CUNY's geographical pattern of development has paralleled that of the city itself. New campuses have followed the shifting demographics of the city.
>
> In short, throughout its history CUNY has reflected the profoundly urban, heterogeneous, upwardly mobile city it serves. This remains true today.[6]

The Decision to Implement Open Admissions

The logical extension of CUNY's historic role as the provider of free higher education, and thus upward social mobility, to the New York City high school graduates it could accommodate was to provide that opportunity for all New York City high school graduates. In reconstructing the coming of open admissions to CUNY, it is impossible to avoid noting a trace of an historical imperative. A number of social forces, political opportunities and forceful personalities combined to provide a viable climate for open admissions at CUNY.

The issue of equal educational opportunity was a strong one in the middle sixties. It was no longer possible for educational institutions to ignore the discrepancy between the quality of education they provided for affluent white children and for minority (and by correlation non-affluent) children. The public schools were graduating large numbers of students, predominantly Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano, who simply did not possess the literacy of a high school graduate. Educational institutions, both secondary and higher, were prepared to write these people off as expendable; they were "uneducable" and "did not belong" in school.

In the mid-sixties CUNY began responding to the increasingly pressing need for the improvement of educational opportunity for New York City's minority populations. In a token move, City College of New York began the Pre-Baccalaureate Program in 1965 with 81 students. By 1967 the program enrolled 200 students, nearly all Black. The aim of the program was to provide the opportunity of a four year degree to students "judged to be qualified for eventual matriculation for a baccalaureate degree."[7] Students were helped to pursue an individualized entrance process lasting perhaps a year or more. Teachers and counselors worked with the students to give them an opportunity to "improve (their) scholarship to meet standards (they) could not meet previously."[8] Special classes were designed to integrate remedial work with college level work in English, reading skills, mathematics and foreign languages. Additional class hours and tutoring were also provided. The Pre-Bac program maintained the value that students must meet certain academic standards before they can qualify for admission. The program was noteworthy in its limited commitment to offering the opportunity for matriculation to students whose high school records indicated they had no chance at college.

With increased pressure from the Harlem community for greater enrollment of minorities in college, the state legislature in July, 1966 established SEEK—Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge. Its purpose is to provide a chance for high school graduates from designated poverty neighborhoods to be educationally prepared, motivated and financially assisted for a college education at one of the senior colleges of City University. The special concern of the program are high school graduates who would not have been admitted into college on the basis of their marks. To be eligible for the program, one must have a New York City high school diploma, never have attended college, be between 19 and 30 years old, and reside in a federally designated poverty area. Applications far exceed places; students are chosen for the program by lot. SEEK students are overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican. An intensive array of supportive services are provided through SEEK. Special classes, a separate counseling staff, and stipends of up to $1200 a year are provided. The University claims it is one of the most far reaching undergraduate programs designed for minority students in the country. However SEEK students have been quick to point out deficiencies in the program; there are too many white counselors who have difficulty responding to and communicating with the city's poor Black and Puerto Rican population; there is a strongly felt stigma of being a second-class student within the college; SEEK students don't have enough voice in the governance of the SEEK program.

Still the program marks a great increase in the University's commitment to serving a student population normally excluded from the hallowed halls. This spring saw the first class of over a hundred SEEK graduates. As can be seen in Table I, the program has grown sizeably since its modest beginnings in 1967 of 1,256 students at the senior colleges and 203 at the community colleges.

Table 1

DAY AND EVENING SEEK ENROLLMENT AT SENIOR COLLEGES[9]

	Univ Ctr	Bar C	Brk C	CCNY	HC	JJ	LC	QC	RC	YC	MEC	TOTAL
Spring 69	542	35	443	730	147	1	214	660	....	91	....	2863
Fall 69	......	221	674	1503	345	4	301	909	1	106	....	4064
Spring 70	......	220	730	1411	313	8	278	825	1	133	....	3919
Fall 70	......	436	1118	1965	702	123	503	1008	1	202	....	6058
Spring 71	......	375	1010	1805	678	113	503	1016	1	199	....	5700
Fall 71	......	543	1427	1827	937	182	549	1253	77	277	63	7135
Spring 72	......	583	1383	1877	857	177	638	1268	86	299	75	7243

Several things are significant about SEEK enrollment. First, as can be seen from the differences between fall and spring figures for the same academic years, there is a negligible decrease in the number of students enrolled. This indicates a very high retention rate (97 per cent in '69–'70, 94 per cent in '70–'71) over the period of time shown. Secondly, as can be seen from Table II, SEEK enrollment comprises a large percentage of the individual senior colleges' total ethnic enrollment, between 30 per cent and 45 per cent in most cases. The University claims that SEEK and College Discovery (a program nearly identical to SEEK for the community colleges) are major vehicles for ethnic enrollment at CUNY, programs which can be used to expand minority enrollment under open admissions. As will be seen later, this is only partially true, for SEEK and CD do not make up for inadequacies in minority enrollment in the senior colleges and community colleges, especially the former. However, both SEEK and CD play an undeniable role in maintaining decent levels of minority enrollment. This is particularly true at Queens College, where minority enrollment would be under 10 per cent if it were not for SEEK enrollment there. Baruch, Brooklyn and York Colleges would also have a small minority population without SEEK. On the other hand, proportionately few minority students are enrolled through SEEK at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and Medgar Evers College. Evers, which admitted its first class in Fall, 1971, has a 74 per cent Black enrollment alone.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF SEEK ENROLLMENT & BLACK/PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT OF TOTAL SENIOR COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN FALL, 1971[10]*

	BA	BR	CC	MEC	HC	JJ	LC	QC	YC	TOTAL
Total Enrollment	7354	19270	15504	863	13282	5518	9201	17711	2699	91112
SEEK Enrollment by %	7.2	7.2	11.6	7.0	6.8	3.3	6.0	7.1	10.3	7.0
Black/PR Enrollment by %	20.8	20.5	34.9	84.3	22.6	27.0	21.4	16.9	21.9	24.4

* Comparisons between SEEK and Black/Puerto Rican enrollment percentages assume 100 per cent of SEEK students are either Black or Puerto Rican.

As noted, College Discovery is essentially the twin of SEEK for the community colleges, although it has never approached the scope of SEEK, enrolling 3,002 students in the community colleges in Fall, 1971. This is less than half of SEEK's total for that Fall (7,135). The program receives most of its notoriety from its association with SEEK (SEEK/CD are customarily mentioned in one breath), which easily leads to a misunderstanding of the program's more limited scope.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE
COLLEGE DISCOVERY ENROLLMENT 69-71[11]

	BMCC	BCC	KCC	NYCCC	QCC	SICC	HCC	TOTAL
Fall 1969	217	415	253	745	193	195	......	2018
Fall 1970	334	539	441	672	237	483	......	2706
Fall 1971	693	550	252	574	286	545	102	3002

Historically the most critical precursor of the implementation of open admissions in 1970 was the 1968 Master Plan for City University. That document cites the action on February 28, 1970 of the Board of Higher Education.

> ". . . to offer the benefits of post-high school education to all residents of New York City who are able and eager to avail themselves of these benefits." The Board resolved to call "upon the City and the State of New York to give the City University with all speed the physical facilities and fiscal support, together with the flexibility of administrative procedures, which will enable it to carry out the aforesaid program for 100 per cent tuition-free coverage of New York City public higher educational needs without delay."
>
> The Board reaffirms its commitment to the young people of New York City and in this Master Plan, defines coordinated educational programs consistent with the needs of the community for adequately educated and trained personnel and with the needs and abilities of the students who will take advantage of them. The Board proposes the expansion of facilities and programs to meet its 100 per cent goal by 1975. In defining its program plans, the University gives recognition to the varying abilities of each student to whom it will

> offer admission, providing in each type of institution a means for identifying unrecognized potential and offering each student, regardless of high school achievement, the opportunity for more advanced study so that each may progress at his fullest potential.[12]

Because it contained a reaffirmation of the University's "100 per cent goal," the 1968 Master Plan became historical precedent in the fights to come which pushed the implementation of open admissions up to 1970, and many sources cited that Master Plan as the origin of open admissions at CUNY. But it must be noted that what was proposed in the document bears little resemblance to any real plan for open admissions. Four distinct tracks were outlined in the Master Plan, each designed to suit the needs of different groups of students, invariably designated along lines of academic performance. As the Master Plan put it, "In each case, the goal to *offer* each set of opportunities to that portion of the high school graduates or college-age population which is judged best fitted to profit by it."[13] A clear academic stratification arises from the four segments described in the report.

1. Senior College Baccalaureate
2. Community College—Career and Transfer
3. Special Programs:
   SEEK—Senior Colleges
   College Discovery—Community Colleges
4. Educational Skills Center

The Senior Colleges were to enroll the top quarter of the city's graduating high school class (82 average in 1968). Also, community college transfers would be enrolled—those who "demonstrate" their ability to benefit from further study. The SEEK program would also provide for the enrollment of students who were "capable of benefitting from senior college study after appropriate remedial work." As its enrollment goal, SEEK projected 4 per cent of the graduating high school class by 1975.

The community colleges were deemed suited to graduates of every type of high school (academic, vocational, technical, etc.) who were in the top two-thirds of the entire body of all high schools. Those in the top half were considered to have sufficient ability to enroll in transfer programs. Others, by and large, were to register in two-year career programs. High school averages of 75 and above constituted the top half of the 1968 graduating high school class. In addition College Discovery was to augment opportunity for community college enrollment.

The Educational Skills Centers were designed for students who somehow didn't fit into any of the above institutions or programs: senior and community colleges, SEEK and College Discovery. The Centers were to provide intensive skills training, as well as job-oriented technical training and "college adapter" courses for "students who have potential for the community college career programs and who might have been overlooked in their initial assignment to a City University institution." There courses were conceived as possible certificate programs of up to one-year's duration. Such certificates could serve as "vestibules" for "successful interested students" to transfer into associate degree programs at the community colleges. They were first organized in 1967 and enrolled about 1,200 students in two sites and Borough of Manhattan Community College and New York City Community College.

Significantly, City University had intended to expand the Educational Skills Centers to provide enrollment for 20 per cent of New York City's high school graduates by 1975, as opposed to 19 per cent for the senior colleges and 26 per cent for the community colleges. The inherent philosophy of the Centers was one of isolating those not "suited" for enrollment in a four- or two-year institution, of insulating the institution from such students. If City University had expanded the Centers as proposed in 1968, it would have established an overt track intended to prevent a large body of high school graduates from enrollment in the colleges. The original 1968 proposal for offering "100 per cent enrollment" to high school graduates was a farce. It would have denied enrollment in a degree program to a projected 16,000 students, those very students who would most benefit from a real open admissions policy. It is to CUNY's credit that the Centers never grew to projected proportions, and are now all but non-existent. The point to be made, however, is that the Centers formed the backbone of the 1968 "open admissions" projection for 1975, and that the plan only committed the University to "open admissions" in rhetoric, and not in educational practice.

The inclusion of the 100 per cent enrollment goal was largely due to the efforts of Chancellor Bowker. By all accounts[14] it was Bowker's commitment which dates back to 1963, to the idea and his political mastery that led to the inclusion of the 100 per cent enrollment goal by 1975 in the 1968 Master Plan and to the implementation of open admissions in 1970. Bowker was able to manipulate a number of complex social, political and economic conditions in the city and state and to capitalize on them, helping to create a receptive atmosphere for open admissions. One source close to the chancellor described the position of conscience from which he led the university.

> Bowker, Edelstein (Vice-chancellor for Urban Affairs) most of us, believed that the survival of the city depended on CUNY serving the Blacks and Puerto Ricans. They have no access to the labor unions, and blue collar jobs are declining in the city. Then somebody, given the growth of the Black and Puerto Rican populations, has to provide them upward mobility. The university can handle that.

In the years prior to open admissions at CUNY, Bowker carefully built a base of public support for the City University, a base which he could later draw upon for support of open admissions. For example, in 1965 when a large budget cut was announced by Rockefeller, Bowker took the unprecedented step of publicly announcing that a cut in enrollment of 2,500 would be necessitated by the budget cuts. However, before doing this, he called in a number of civic groups to brief them on this action. These groups formed a coalition, the Ad Hoc Committee for City University, which became a vigorous lobby for CUNY in such times of crisis. The longer range effect of the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee was to insure City University, and Bowker, of strong public support. The Committee played an important role in legitimizing in the public's skeptical eye the plan to implement open admissions in 1970.

In the spring of 1969 events at City College crystallized the need for a major institutional response to the needs of minority students. The student strike there and the take-over of South Campus by a group of Black and Puerto Rican students, the "Black and Puerto Rican Student Community," centered around five demands presented to President Buell Gallagher on February 6, 1969. The five demands were consistently repeated:

1. A separate school of Black and Puerto Rican studies.
2. A separate orientation program for Black and Puerto Rican freshman.
3. A voice for SEEK students in the setting of old guidelines for the SEEK program, including the hiring and firing of all personnel.
4. The racial composition of all entering classes reflect the Black and Puerto Rican population of the New York City high schools.
5. That Black and Puerto Rican history and the Spanish language be a requirement for all education majors.

Looking at the 1968 Master Plan for open admissions, the students charged that by setting up a three-tiered system of senior colleges, community colleges, and educational skills centers, City University was perpetuating a tracking process within the city schools that they felt was responsible for so few minorities receiving academic diplomas. The five demands were designed to prevent such a tracking process, and though they applied specifically to City College, the students involved realized that such reform at City College would have university-wide implications. What made the issues so acutely visible at City College was the extended violence that accompanied the strike and the two week occupation of South Campus and Klappen Hall. Mayoral candidate Mario Procaccino filed a complaint in the State Supreme Court, ordering that the school be reopened for classes. The uprising itself, as well as the five demands, became an issue in the mayoral campaign of 1969.

The events at City College served to accelerate the public debate over the issue of open enrollment. The Board of Higher Education held public hearings in the Spring and Fall of 1969. For both the BHE and Bowker, the hearings served as a barometer of public opinion regarding the role of City University.

> Among the groups expressing strong support for accelerating open admissions were the Public Education Association, The Women's City Club, the American Jewish Congress, the City College Alumni Association, the Legislative Conference and the United Federation of College Teachers. The Central Labor Trades' Council also petitioned the Board to offer education opportunity "for every child capable of receiving it, from kindergarten through college, free from racial and financial discrimination." In an editorial published on September 12, 1969, the New York Times summed up the public view with the statement that "the proposal by the Board of Higher Education . . . clearly has the widest public and community support. It is among the few issues on which the Mayoralty candidates appear to be in basic agreement."

Strong support also came from the Teamsters, the "Harry Van Arsdale crowd," most CUNY alumni, and influential leaders in the state legislature: Milt Jonas and John Marchi, a personal friend of Bowker and also a candidate for mayor in 1969.

The Ad Hoc Committee for City University also lent strong support. As one Committee leader put it:

> The Committee and its members supporting the concept of open admissions was important in creating a favorable climate for it, because the city was not receptive to the idea. People felt standards would erode without a track system, which Blacks and Puerto Ricans wouldn't buy, that it would be financially disastrous, and that you were first giving in to the Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The Committee made open admissions respectable. The UPA, the AJC, all talked to their members about open admissions. After a while, you began to feel like kind of a louse if you weren't for open admissions.

The hearing elicited the kind of public support Bowker was waiting for. As one administrator close to Bowker put it:

> Bowker was for open admissions in 1963. He waited until he had enough public pressure to push for it. It was an internal (within the University) decision, not a function of the demonstrations, or the politicians. That is, and I'll deny I ever said this if you print it, he waited until he had a demonstration big enough he could get support from. It wasn't the demonstration that changed us; we'd weathered demonstrations before.

It seems true that the major motivation for implementing open admissions in 1970 came from the corps of men (no women occupy the higher central administrative positions at CUNY) who occupy East 80th Street. Without men like Bowker, Tim Healy, Vice-Chancellor for Academic Development and others, the demonstrations at City College and the rising racial tensions in the city would have had no effect on CUNY as an institution. These people were vital to the implementation of open admissions. Aside from their ideological commitment to open admissions, the policy seemed to be the only possible solution to the enrollment bind CUNY faced as a public institution with a recognized commitment to the city's poor and ethnic population. If a ceiling were kept on admissions, and if the numbers of Blacks and Puerto Ricans were to be increased, then somebody would have to be squeezed out. This meant whites, mostly Jewish, since the traditional constituency of City University was the poor few. And if Blacks and Puerto Ricans were admitted under "quotas," then segments of the white ethnic population would begin clammoring for their share. The only solution was to let everyone in. According to one high source, "The University wouldn't have been able to survive as an institution. The issues were clear that there had to be open admissions. Either you give the Blacks City College, or you go to open admissions."

Other political and economic considerations made the early implementation of open admissions feasible. The mayoral campaign played a key role in illuminating public support for the policy. All three candidates endorsed open admissions. Lindsay's backing was key; Although one aide claimed that open admissions was not a big issue in the campaign, it is clear that Lindsay's support solidified the city government's fiscal commitment to CUNY under open admissions. Before the election, Lindsay's advisors assessed the amount of public support for open admissions through the BHE hearings. Lindsay knew he would gain more votes from Blacks and Puerto Ricans on this and would lose votes from the Jews. The balance favored his backing open admissions. A source close to the mayor describes his dilemma:

> It was one of Lindsay's most courageous moves, because he had always based his support on the Jewish population. His advisors told him he hadn't done a damn thing for the city and that it's about time he do it by backing open admissions, appealing not to his sense of social conscience—politicians don't have a social conscience—but the fact of his past ineptitude as mayor.

What increased the importance of the 1969 mayoral campaign in crystalizing conditions for open admissions was the imminent gubernatorial race in 1970. Back to back elections for mayor and governor greatly increased chances of getting the mayor new funding and city commitments. Furthermore, the state's budget was much healthier in 1969 than it is now. One source high in the state budget office explains:

> I'm proud of the decision to accelerate the time, of doing it then in 1969. Now there's no money to do anything in 1973. It would have been impossible to do open admissions at any other time, before or after. Priorities have changed.

The decision, then, to implement open admissions five years ahead of the Master Plan schedule was the result of what may be a unique combination of supportive circumstances, including a healthy state budget, the extremely visible demonstrations at City College, and the commitment and political mastery of Chancellor Bowker. That a vigorous public debate over a serious plan for open admissions ever occurred is remarkable in itself, but that a forceful plan was implemented is still more remarkable. CUNY's response to the pressing public need for free higher education is unique among the history of New York City's bureaucracies for its sensitivity.

Implementation: The Framework

The statement of purpose introducing the 1969 revision to the 1968 Master Plan states innocuously enough the intention to implement open admissions in September, 1970:

> The Board of Higher Education proposes an amendment to the 1969 First Revision of the 1968 Master Plan that would expand senior college and community college enrollments beyond present goals for the years 1970 through 1975. The Board proposes to expand enrollment goals so that the University may admit a freshman class of 35,000 students in the Fall, 1970 and in each of the subsequent years through 1975 in order to meet the changing needs of the high school graduates of New York City.[15]

At its July 9, 1969 meeting the Board of Higher Education resolved to accelerate the timetable for open admissions and directed the Chancellor to "investigate the feasibility of offering admissions, beginning in the Fall of 1970, to all New York City residents who graduate from high school in June, 1970 and subsequent years." The Board resolved that the plan adhere to the following guidelines, which have been a constant reference point during the first two years of open admissions.

a. It shall offer admission to some University program to all high school graduates of the City.
b. It shall provide remedial and other supportive services for all students requiring them.
c. It shall maintain and enhance the standards of academic excellence of the colleges of the University.
d. It shall result in the ethnic integration of the colleges.
e. It shall provide for mobility for students between various programs and units of the University.
f. It shall assure that all students who would have been admitted to specific community or senior colleges under the admissions criteria which we have used in the past shall still be so admitted. In increasing educational opportunity for all, attention shall also be paid to retaining the opportunities for students now eligible under present Board policies and practices.

The Revision changed the whole tenor of the rhetoric CUNY was using regarding open admissions. The educational skills centers, which were to play such a key role in enrolling "underprepared students," were clearly on the way out: "the University is not amending its enrollment estimates for the educational skills centers . . . , but it will watch carefully the enrollment trends for (this program)."[16] Emphasis was placed on identifying the needs of the new student population entering under open admissions:

> Specific services needed by these students include extensive remediation in basic tools for learning, i.e., reading, writing and mathematics, tutorial assistance outside of the regular class schedule, individualized counseling, and adequate financial aid where required to remove the economic barriers to full-time college attendance. Further, it is anticipated that the college faculties will make curricular changes to provide for essential compensatory courses. (Compensatory courses cover college-level work, but meet in smaller sections and for periods of time longer than regular college courses).

The importance of "preadmissions counseling, academic evaluation, and college placement" was underscored; it was recommended that compensatory, but not remedial, courses carry some credit because "the accumulation of some credits during the first semester adds heavily to the motivation of the students." The plan speaks of employing revised retention policies based upon "acceptance of the fact that many under-prepared students will require time to develop the skills necessary to succeed in regular college courses. Thus, the college must devise structures which will assure that each student is given a fair chance to succeed in the program of his choice." (At the same time, it is "expected that the student will show reasonable progress toward a degree.") The plan also emphasizes the importance of non-academic supportive service, stating that "it is necessary that a counseling ratio of one counselor per 45 students be created, and that "to the same end, it is essential that a program of stipends, long-term loans, and work-study grants be arranged for the financial support of students arriving under the open admissions policy." Furthermore, the vastly increased needs for the recruitment of new faculty and counselors was cited (2,100 new faculty members projected for 1970–71). The division also cited the anticipated crush on the physical facilities of City University, noting that increased enrollments in an already tight space situation would require immediate rental of new classroom and office space.

The rhetorical commitment that the 1969 revision makes to open admissions is admirable, every area (with the exception of a vigorous high school recruitment program and provisions for adequate day care) needed for a serious open admissions program is covered. However, the implementation of open admissions at CUNY had a number of limited effects. CUNY chose to allow its colleges a large degree of freedom in their individual approaches to open admissions. This resulted in a healthy climate of experimentation and flexibility and minimized the existing tensions between the colleges and the central administration. A University Task Force on Open Admissions was established on September 25, 1969. It was charged with the responsibility for "organizing, assisting and coordinating the efforts of the several colleges to implement the University's major effort in assisting with the implementation of open admissions at the colleges. It adopted the following objectives:

1. Mobilizing the University's Effort
    - a.) To establish on every campus a Committee on Open Admissions Policy.
    - b.) To create a University-wide Council of College Coordinators for Open Admissions Planning.
    - c.) To effect liason with and involvement of University related groups, i.e. The University Senate, The Student Advisory Council, The Legislative Conference, The United Federation of College Teachers, etc., in Open Admissions planning.
2. The Identification and Study of the Problems of Implementation.
    - a.) The student population under Open Admissions.
    - b.) Space requirements and physical facilities.
    - c.) The academic program.
    - d.) Faculty recruitment.
    - e.) Financing.[17]

The "Committees on Open Admissions policy" were established unevenly at the various colleges, some meeting regularly, some irregularly, and some not at all. At some colleges the membership of the committee fluctuated, particularly among the student "representatives." There were also differences in the rank of the person named as the coordinator for open admissions. Title and personality made a difference in the clout that the coordinator carried at his college. A full dean with a staff inherently carried more weight than a professor or a director of institutional research. Furthermore, there is some feeling that the process of the "Council of College Coordinators" was largely ineffective. As one administrator at Queens College put it:

> The university didn't nearly provide the kind of guidance it should have. It never came up with positive guidance. There were innumerable meetings; it was a case of the blind leading the blind. I'm not so sure you'll get a great range of methods. I don't think anybody knew how to track remedial reading,

> English or math. Everyone was groping. I'm skeptical of much of the claim that's put forth about 80th Street's leadership.

The other side of this coin is that such looseness was CUNY's wisest possible posture, given the diversity of the colleges and the unsureness everyone faced—but few admitted—in implementing the open admissions program.

There are two critical policy areas where 80th Street made decisions which provided structural parameters and determined student enrollments. Those two areas are budget allocation and student allocation procedures.

Budget

It is never admitted in public and rarely in private that no one had the slightest idea what the cost of open admissions would be. CUNY's budget request for 1970–71 included a lump sum allocation to "implement open admissions." It is the only budget request with a specific allocation for open admissions. Subsequent budget requests couch such allocations in terms of "workload increases" or the "need for additional remedial or supportive services." The 1970–71 budget projected 8,500 "additional students" for the Fall of 1970 because of open admissions. The requested allocation read as follows:

BUDGET REQUEST 1970-71[18]

(in millions of dollars)

Educational and Support Services	$23.0
Rental of Facilities	4.0
Stipends	8.5
Total	$35.5

The request for educational and support services under open admissions provides for 8,500 students at a funding level of $2,700 per student ($23 million). That funding level is based upon 10/1/70 salary scales and includes provisions for "counseling, tutoring and remedial instruction." No breakdown as to how that funding level provides for those services is given in the public document.

Initially, the funding debate among administrators at East 80th Street centered around duplicating a SEEK (CD funding model for the "open admissions student." An open admissions student was loosely defined as one who would not normally have been admitted to CUNY under previous standards, and who probably was in need of some remediation in math, English and writing—just the SEEK and

CD students were. The funding levels for both SEEK and College Discovery were as follows:[19]

SEEK BREAKDOWN OF 1970-71
REQUEST PER STUDENT

Instruction, Remediation, Counseling and Research	$1,500
Stipends	1,080
Books	200
Fees	120
Total	$2,900

COLLEGE DISCOVERY BREAKDOWN OF 1970-71
REQUEST PER STUDENT

Regular funding level per student		$1,350
Students, book and fee allowances to reflect increases in cost of living, prices of books and fees		1,200
Books and fees per year	$ 200	
Stipends @ $25 per week for 40 weeks (average)	$1,000	
Tutorial costs (40 hour average per semester at $2.50 per hour)		100
Counseling (ratio 1-50), research and special psychological services		400
Total		$3,050

The budget request of $2,700 per "additional student" under open admissions compares favorably to the levels requesting SEEK (CD students) particularly when the request provides for a $1,000 stipend to the open admissions student. As good as this looks on paper, there are several social and political realities which tarnish such a shining budget request. First of all, there is an irreconcilable split between upstate legislators and New York City legislators in Albany over the issue of free tuition at CUNY. The upstaters, with no vested interest in New York City public higher education, are bitter sharing the costs of CUNY with the city (50:50 for the senior colleges; 40:60 for the community colleges) while students pay no tuition. State University students pay up to $400 a term. As the Wagner Commission has noted:

> Interviews with officials of state government and legislative leaders have made it very clear that the state will not increase its share of City University costs without the imposition of tuition and a change in the governing structure to give the state greater control.[20]

No one expected the state legislature to fully fund open admissions, no matter how "full funding" was defined. The first lump sum to be eliminated in the negotiations was the $8.5 million provision for stipends for the open admissions student. That request was never given serious consideration by either city or state officials.

From the beginning it was clear that open admissions students would receive no aid from CUNY's budget and would have to totally rely on state and federal student assistance programs.

Secondly, CUNY grossly understated enrollments of students needing supportive services and remedial instruction. The figure used in the budget request, 8,500, is obtained through arithmetic and does not derive from any informed analysis of the entering freshman population. The report notes that a freshman class of 35,000 is expected under open admissions in the Fall of 1970. This is quite accurate. It also notes that "Master Plan goals for Fall, 1970 admissions, provided for elsewhere in this budget, allow for a freshman class of 26,500." Simple arithmetic shows a need to "provide for" an additional 8,500 students.

Unfortunately this reasoning yields a largely inaccurate picture of the entering freshman class of Fall, 1970 and its compensatory educational needs. On May 1, 1970 City University first administered reading and math tests (Stanford Reading and Math tests) to more than 31,000 high school seniors who indicated they planned to attend a division of CUNY in the Fall. The tests were used to estimate remedial needs of entering freshman. The results are shown below.

RESULTS OF MAY 1 TESTS TAKEN BY N.Y.C. HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS ACCEPTED AS FRESHMEN BY CITY UNIVERSITY

School	A*	B*	C*	D*	E*
Baruch College	1,336	44	38	3	12
Brooklyn College	3,825	24	23	2	6
City College	2,765	37	30	4	11
Hunter College	2,668	38	40	4	13
John Jay College	483	61	71	10	39
Lehman College	1,956	35	37	3	12
Queens College	2,856	21	18	1	3
Richmond College**					
York College	701	43	44	3	12
Bronx Community College	1,658	71	76	18	44
Hostos C.C.	283	82	89	33	65
Kingsborough C.C.	2,255	68	73	14	36
Manhattan C.C.	1,083	76	79	19	45
New York City C.C.	2,104	78	81	23	48
Queensborough C.C.	2,403	57	59	7	23
Staten Island C.C.	1,821	55	59	8	23
Totals	28,197 (31,634)***	51	51	10	25

NOTES:

* A—Number taking tests
B—Percent needing some remedial reading (includes those needing intensive remedial help).
C—Percent needing some remedial math (includes those needing intensive remedial help).
D—Percent needing intensive remedial reading.
E—Percent needing intensive remedial math.

** Richmond College is an upper division college not accepting freshmen.

*** Total in parenthesis and total percentages include students who took May 1 tests, but who had not been assigned to a particular college.

Source: Based on data from City University of New York.

The data shows that more than half of those taking the test need some remedial aid in both math and reading. In some specific cases, the figures are shockingly extreme. For example, while only 18 per cent of Queens College entrants need some remedial math work, 71 per cent of John Jay College entrants need such work. Nearly 90 per cent of entering freshman at Hostos Community College need some remedial work.

Table 3 contains some selected comparisons of CUNY results with national norm sample percentiles on the reading test. It would appear that no matter what comparisons are made, or at what grade level, the needed amount of help in reading for incoming CUNY freshman was much greater than had been expected. This statement assumes that a 9th grade reading ability is necessary to success in college level courses.

Table 3[22]
SELECTED COMPARISONS OF CUNY READING SCORES WITH NATIONAL NORMS

National Percentile	Raw Score	CUNY Percentile	Cumulative CUNY No. Students
50th percentile, College Prep. HS Srs.	47	72	22,776
50th percentile, all HS Srs.	42	57	18,031
50th percentile, College Prep. 9th Grs.	35	38	12,021
50th percentile, all 9th Grs.	29	22	6,959
25th percentile, College Prep. HS Srs.	38	45	15,234
25th percentile, all HS Srs.	32	30	9,490
25th percentile, College Prep. 9th Grs.	27	17	5,378
25th percentile, all 9th Grs.	19	5	1,580

Seventy-two per cent, or 22,776 of the entering CUNY freshman achieved scores below the average 12th grade college preparatory group in the national norm sample. Fifteen thousand, or 45 per cent, achieved scores that were comparable to those in the lowest quarter of this college preparatory group. These comparisons indicate that CUNY freshmen read less well on the average, than the average national sample of college prep high school seniors.

The comparison of the CUNY group with college prep seniors is not quite a fair one on two counts. First, college prep seniors tend to read better than the average 12th grade student. Second, the University's freshman class, comprised from *all* New York City high school graduates, would be more fairly compared to the reading ability of all 12th grade students. Here it is found that 18,000 or 57 per cent of CUNY entering freshman are reading below the average 12th grade student. About 30 per cent scored within the lowest quarter of this group. Again, there is a greater proportion of scores among the lower ranges as compared to the norm group, although the differences are not so great as was the case where comparison was made with the college prep group.

If such percentages are projected onto the entire entering class of 35,000, more than 17,500 need remedial work in both math and reading. This figure is more than twice that of the University's estimate in the budget request. If the projection of students needing remedial aid is then corrected from the 8,500 estimate used in the budget request to the 14,500 indicated by the results of the Stanford tests, the funding level per student is reduced drastically. In that budget, $23 million is provided for "educational and support services" for "all students requiring them." The number requiring such services, estimated at 8,500, yields a funding level of $2,700 per student. As noted, this compares favorably with SEEK/CD funding levels. However, when adjusted to provide for 17,500 students, the $23 million yields a funding level of $1,314 per student. This figure is less than the "regular" funding level for undergraduates in 1970–71. Given all this, the 1970–71 budget allocation for open admissions becomes a wildly aimed shot in the dark.

City University realized the inadequacy of such lump sum budgeting techniques. Apart from their inaccuracy, such methods are inconsistent with CUNY's regular budgetary methods and are difficult to justify in budget hearings with the city and the state. 1970–71 was the only year the budget request showed a lump sum allocation for open admissions. Following years have seen the use of funding models for various categories of students. CUNY is funded for work-load increases on the basis of funding models for each major category of student. The funding models for the various types of students are determined on the basis of cost models which reflect major expense elements. Funding models are developed for each of the regular education programs (day session, evening session, masters, doctoral, etc.) Supplementary models provide for the costs involved in aiding underprepared students (counseling and tutoring) and nursing students (tutoring, laboratory expenses). The funding models are based on ten-month salary costs and exclude provisions for promotions and salary adjustments required under University collective bargaining agreements. Furthermore, they do not provide for space rental, campus security and other space related items. Thus, funding models are somewhat lower than the average costs per student.

CUNY enrolls thousands of part time students, and for this reason claims it cannot budget on a per student, or headcount basis. Rather than fund on a headcount basis, the University converts the number of students enrolled into stylized conceptions of full-time equivalent students (FTE's). To determine the number of undergraduate FTE's, the total number of credits taken by undergraduate students during the academic year is divided by the "standard two-semester load of 30 credits per student."[23] The number of "remedial" FTE's is computed as the total number of classroom hours (contact hours) "taken by such students during the academic year divided by the standard two-semester load of 450 contact hours." In effect, FTE funding negates the existence of students. If a student enrolls for fewer than 15 credits per semester (the "normal load"), then the college receives only a fraction of the funding for him or her, as if that student were only a fraction of a person. Students with remedial needs are particularly penalized by this method, since they frequently enroll for 12 or even 10 credits[8] and may complete even less than that. Thus FTE funding insures the underfunding of underprepared students.

In attempting to correct this inequity, the University created several budget categories intended to allocate additional funds to underprepared students. Each measure by itself is inadequate and token. Taken together, however, they provide a fair measure of additional resources to these students, though the gap between those provided for and those in need is widening.

In an attempt to develop a more rational budgeting policy for open admissions students, the University's budget officers developed what one official termed an "ingenious process for divying up the money." The University's freshman enrollment was orginally defined for 1970–71 in terms of three types of students as follows, based on high school grade point averages:

regular students:	senior colleges	80 and above
	senior colleges	75 and above
level A :	senior colleges	79.9-75
	community colleges	74.9-70
level B :	community colleges	below 75
	community colleges	below 70

For ease in administration, these arbitrary divisions were made even more arbitrary, eliminating the distinction between level A and level B students at either senior or community colleges. The divisions used in University documents are as follows:

regular:	above 80
level A:	79.9-70
level B:	below 70

Several assumptions accompany such a breakdown. Regular students were assumed to need no remediation. Level A students were assumed to be in need of some remediation, about 25 per cent of their course load, roughly in need of one remedial course per term. Level B students were assumed to be in need of more intensive remediation, about 50 per cent of their course load, or roughly in need of two remedial courses per term. Since level A and level B students would need additional funds to support the needed remedial instruction and counseling, supplements were allocated to the college on a level A/level B FTE basis. Originally the University provided a slightly higher supplement for level B students, who were in need of more intensive services. In 1970–71 differentials of $400 for level A and $600 for level B student were proposed; $470 (A) and $597 (B)[24] were actually allocated. In subsequent years (1971–72, 1972–73), no distinction was made in the funding level for level A's or level B's. In 1971–72, $415 is provided on a headcount basis, not an FTE basis, to underprepared senior college students, and $365 is provided on a headcount basis for underprepared community college students[25]. In 1972–73, the figures were $455 (senior college) and $415 (community college).[26] However, in no public document do these supplements appear as level A/level B allocations. In fact, no mention is made of the dichotomy in any public document, nor is there any public accounting for the method used to determine the number of level A and level B students funded. Instead, the supplements appear as "counseling and tutoring supplements." An analysis of the entering freshman classes during the years of open admissions and an examination of the funding of "level A/level B students" (a mythical quantity, as far as University bookkeeping is concerned) shows the inadequacy of this method of fiscal allocation.

Table 4 shows the high school grade point distribution of the entering freshman classes of Fall, 1970, 1971 and 1972. From this the number of regular, level A, and level B students—as defined by the University—were calculated and shown in table 5.

Table 4
FRESHMAN CLASSES OF FALL '70, '71, & '72 BY HIGH SCHOOL
Grade Point Averages

	85+	84.9-80	79.9-75	74.9-70	70-	Total
1970*						
Senior College	6,239	5,949	4,742	2,496	1,005	20,430
Community College	364	1,302	3,335	4,469	2,605	12,675
1971						
Total**	5,405	5,908	7,340	6,817	6,307	30,566
1972						
Total***	(10,377 for 80+)		7,186	7,866	9,151	34,630
Admits	(21,800 for 80+)		(11,609)	(11,001)	(12,484)	(56,894)

* Birnbaum, *The Graduates*, op cit p. 94

** CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation

*** loc cit; extrapolated from number of admits as of 4-17-72 and percentages of show/no-show's for GPA levels from 1971 freshman class.

Table 5
REGULAR, LEVEL A, LEVEL B STUDENTS IN FRESHMAN CLASSES OF FALL 1970, 1971 AND 1972*

	Regular	Level A	Level B
1970	13,914	15,042	3,610
1971	11,313	14,157	6,307
1972	10,377	15,052	9,151

* Same sources as Table 4

Table 6 shows the funding levels and number of students for "level A/level B" funding for these three years. Note that the University makes no distinction between level A and level B differentials (except for 70–71), the allocations are called counseling and tutoring supplements, not level A/level B allocations.

Table 6*
COUNSELING AND TUTORING SUPPLEMENTS FOR 70-71, 71-72, 72-73
Funding Levels

	70-71		71-72	72-73
level A	$400 ($470)	senior college	$415	$455
level B	$600 ($597)	community college	$365	$415

Number of Students Funded (Headcount)

	70-71	71-72	72-73
senior college	5,440 (5,210)**	10,558 (8,880)	15,040 (15,040)
community college	6,305 (6,675)	15,090 (15,040)	20,752 (19,747)

* source—1971-72 and 1972-73 Budget Requests; CUNY Office of the Budget.

** figures in parenthesis indicate number of students actually funded; other figures indicate number of students requested.

A second kind of supplement appears in the budget requests. Called the "non-credit remedial program," it allows for a greater level of FTE funding to "remedial students" than the regular FTE formula. Initiated in 1971–72, it is a further attempt to allocate the needed supplements for underprepared students. Although no mention of this category appears in the 1970–71 budget request (the first year of open admissions), it is retroactively applied to that year in subsequent budget requests. (One more inconsistancy in CUNY's bookkeeping.) The allocations are listed below.

NON-CREDIT REMEDIAL FTE: DAY SESSION*

		70-71	71-72	72-73
senior college		1,457	2,840	4,659
community college		2,515	5,431	7,894
		Funding Levels		
regular FTE:	S.C.	$1,385	$1,660	$1,696
	C.C.	1,350	1,620	1,687
NCR-FTE :	S.C.	....	2,250	2,320
	C.C.	....	2,170	2,292

* source—1971-72, 1972-73 Budget Requests

In essence the no-credit remedial differentials amount to supplements awarded to underprepared students, just as the "level A/level B funding models" are supplements; there is only a small quantitative difference. (Non-credit remedial differentials are $590 for senior college students and $550 for senior college students and $550 for community college students in 1971–72; $624 for senior college students and $605 for community college students in 1972–73.)

After totally all supplementary allocations, it becomes clear that underprepared students are underfunded, and that the shortage is growing. By CUNY's own definition of an underprepared student (level A/level B, under 80 average) there were 39,116 such students in the fall of 1971, and 63,319 such students in the fall of 1972. Some kind of supplementary funding was provided for 33,919 students in 1971 and for 48,345 students in 1972. Because the figures for 1972 are extrapolated (see note on Table 4) there is an increased error here. Also, the figures assume that students continue to need remediation through the first years of college. However, other errors balance this. First, the number of students funded assumes no duplication in non-credit remedial and counseling/tutoring supplements; this has not been documented. Second, all enrollment figures cited in Tables 4 and 5 are below actual enrollments. Third, the number of students funded is a mix of both headcounts and FTE's, meaning that the money was allocated for fewer people. Therefore, the number of underprepared students (again using CUNY's definition) is greater than noted. With some caution given to error then, the figures show that in 1971–72 one student in eight did not receive needed supplementary funding and in 1972–73 one student in four did not receive needed funding.

Almost as disconcerting as the inadequate fiscal allocation is the juggled manner in which supplements are treated. One year there is a distinction maintained between level A and level B funding (1970–71), though this distinction never appears in the headcount of students funded. Other years no distinction is made at all between A and B, but rather between senior and community college students.

Furthermore, an inexplicable distinction arises between being a student eligible for a counseling and tutoring supplement and being a student eligible for non-credit remedial funding. A partial explanation of these misfittages lies in the fact the City University cannot show supplemental grants in its budget requests, because they are invariably shied off by city and state officials, as in the case of the $1,000 stipends proposed for open admissions students in 1970–71. Thus the University tries to state its allocations all in terms of FTE cost models. The models for the past three years are presented below.[27]

BREAKDOWN OF COST MODELS
Senior Colleges

	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Undergraduate Day			
● Instructional	$ 812	$1,025	$1,127
● Non-Instructional	210	240	256
● Fringe Benefits	213	245	283
● Other	150	150	170
Subtotal	$1,385	$1,660	$1,836
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	140
Net Funding	$1,385	$1,660	$1,696
Undergraduate Remedial			
● Instructional	....	$1,516	$1,659
● Non-Instructional	....	240	256
● Fringe Benefits	....	344	375
● Other	....	150	170
Subtotal	....	$2,250	$2,460
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	140
Net Funding	....	$2,250	$2,320
Undergraduate Counseling & Tutoring Supplement			
Net Funding	....	$ 415*	$ 455
Undergraduate Nursing Supplement			
Net Funding	....	$ 590	$ 642
Undergraduate Evening			
● Instructional	$ 501	$ 815	$ 635
● Non-Instructional	124	170	163
● Fringe Benefits	45	145	49
● Other	150	150	170
Subtotal	$ 820	$1,280	$1,017
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	71
Net Funding	$ 820	$1,280	$ 946
Undergraduate Summer			
Net Funding	$ 545	$ 720	$ 725

* Supplement comprises $315 for counseling and $100 for tutoring.

BREAKDOWN OF COST MODELS

Community Colleges

	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Undergraduate Day			
● Instructional	$ 771	$ 975	$1,111
● Non-Instructional	219	250	265
● Fringe Benefits	210	245	280
● Other	150	150	170
Subtotal	$1,350	$1,620	$1,826
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	139
Net Funding	$1,350	$1,620	$1,687
Undergraduate Remedial			
● Instructional	....	$1,430	$1,630
● Non-Instructional	....	250	265
● Fringe Benefits	....	340	365
● Other	....	150	170
Subtotal	....	$2,170	$2,430
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	138
Net Funding	....	$2,170	$2,292
Undergraduate Counseling & Tutoring Supplement			
Net Funding	....	$ 365*	$ 415
Undergraduate Nursing Supplement			
Net Funding	....	$ 550	$ 628
Undergraduate Evening			
● Instructional	$ 423	$ 772	$ 630
● Non-Instructional	110	176	145
● Fringe Benefits	37	132	47
● Other	150	150	170
Subtotal	$ 720	$1,230	$ 992
● Less: Productivity Increase	....	....	71
Net Funding	$ 720	$1,230	$ 921
Undergraduate Summer			
Net Funding	$ 470	$ 720	$ 725

* Comprises $265 for counseling and $100 for tutoring.

This does not explain, however, why the vast majority of remedial allocations continue to be shown as supplements (counseling and tutoring). Nor is there any public accounting of how the number of underprepared students is determined. The distinction between level A and level B student does not appear in any budget request, nor does it appear in any enrollment report or ethnic census. CUNY has not made public the number of level A and level B students that are funded each year.

But beyond this, CUNY's definition of a student in need of remediation (high school average below 80) is far from adequate. As the results of the May 1 open admissions test and numerous placement tests have shown, thousands of students with high school averages above 80 are deficient in English, reading and math. Yet current allocation procedures take none of this into account. A more accurate and straightforward budget procedure is needed.

Aside from its inadequacies, the funding of open admissions at CUNY, indeed the funding of CUNY itself, is mixed in bureaucratic complexities that Dostoyevski would have buckled under. As the 1972 Master plan has noted, there are two overriding problem areas in the budgeting process at the University. The process through which the University obtains its annual operating budget is crisis-oriented, overly complex and inimical to rational planning and educational innovation. Some testimony: program director, Medger Evers College:

> CUNY funding works against experimentation and innovation. We never know what our budget will be until late August or September, when classes start in September. This makes it impossible to fund planning activities—and planning is critical to the success of our program. The FTE funding works against team teaching. We need to have part-time faculty because they're much cheaper. The good CUNY salaries work against the student.

administrator, Lehman College:

> The funding cycle is unconscionable. You don't know what your money is until July. We still don't know what our allocation is for next year, and we need a year's lead time to plan properly. It takes seven to ten years to get a building. I don't know when we'll see those buildings (that we need) Maybe 1978.

In addition to the ponderous machinations that accompany fiscal allocations, the budgetary controls imposed on the University need to be streamlined. A more flexible relationship is needed between the University and the city and state. The first problem is the most serious and difficult to correct. The 1972 Master Plan addresses the problem frankly, and offers a refreshing set of solutions.

1. Authorization each December for the Unversity to recruit the necessary faculty for the enrollment increase estimated for the following fall. The University does not normally receive authorization until June, Which is well after the January through March main recruiting season for faculty. This kind of authorization was given to City University on a one-time basis in November, 1970 and the results were excellent in terms of the qualifications and geographic and educational diversity of the new faculty.
2. Establishment of adequate per student funding formulas which do not force the University to absorb up to one-half of its enrollment increase with *no* funding as has been the case in the first years of Open Admissions. (The formula currently being used by the State University and the state government to restrict per student funding of community has had so harsh an effect during its first two years of usage as to endanger the success of Open Admissions at City University's community colleges. This is an

example of a grossly inadequate formula which will damage academic quality if it is not revised.)

3. Provide the University with a multi-year operating budget which appropriately reflects collective bargaining contracts, increased enrollments, a responsible level of internal economy measures, facilities requirements, debt service for construction, and other necessary obligations. The cycle of this multi-year budget might coincide with the duration of collective bargaining contracts which are currently three-year contracts for the instructional staff.
4. Establish a January 1st beginning for City University's fiscal year so that the University has at least six months to plan after the city adopts its budget in the prior June.[28]

The problems of funding open admissions are large and the dangers of creating inequities are also great. The budgetary implementation of open admissions at CUNY was at times discriminatory against minority and low-income students. (The correlation between ethnicity, family income and grades is clearly documented in Birnbaum's study, *The Graduates*.) Many questions remain unanswered; What is the cost of open admissions? Is the program adequately funded at CUNY? What would be a more equitable system of fiscal allocation? Hopefully some answers can be provided at the end of this report.

Allocation

At the heart of any open admissions program lies the student allocation policy. This policy will determine the academic make up of the campuses; it will determine the racial and economic mix: it will determine the age group distribution. The student allocation policy can create pockets of guaranteed failure, can insure integration, de facto segregation or a policy of racial separation. It can preserve an established hierarchy of elites, middle-level functionaries and low-level subordinates. The allocation policy of an institution serves to track students into various educational settings, each of which has implications for the social and economic destiny of its students. The student allocation policy of CUNY is no exception. In a very subtle fashion, the policy used by the Board of Higher Education has created pockets of racial and economic segregation, it has preserved islands of greater and lesser academic achievement, islands which by correlation separate white from Black and Puerto Rican, affluent from less affluent. Not only does such discrimination appear between senior and community colleges, where the lines are very clear, but it has also created and preserved distinctions among the specific campuses. To document such subtle tracking, and understanding of where the current allocation system came from and an analysis of the student bodies at the various campuses is necessary.

After the Board of Higher Education mandated the implementation of open admissions for the Fall of 1970, it charged the University Commission on Admissions to submit a plan for an open admissions policy consistent with the Board's six points. The key to the Commission's report lay in its recommendations for a student allocation policy. Traditionally, CUNY admitted and assigned students on the basis of merit. Students were admitted to their first choice if their high school grade point averages were above the cut points for that school. If not, the students' second or third choices were tried until they made the cut point, and so on. This continued until a student was either admitted to a school or was told he was unacceptable for status as a matriculated student at the University. Cut points for the senior colleges hovered around 80; and around 75 for the community colleges.

Prior to open admissions the University's admissions and allocation system was based on two assumptions: 1) High school grades and standardized test scores are valid and reliable indices of potential college success 2) All students have an equal opportunity for academic achievement in high school. Studies have shown both of these assumptions to be unreliable. The use of high school grades and test scores as measures of "academic aptitude" could no longer be justified as a equitable or educationally sound approach to college admission. Moreover, since grades and test scores are highly related to socio-economic status, the system discriminated against both minority and low income students.

With the coming of open admissions, the Commission proposed three alternate plans for the allocation of both SEEK and College Discovery, however the mix was slightly different in each case. The use of class rank as an allocation criterion is quite important. It insures that a number of students with comparatively poor grade point averages who nevertheless rank rather highly in *their own* high school class have an opportunity to be placed in a senior college.

Proposal 1 called for admitting the major part of the incoming freshman class on the basis of rank *in the student's own school*. The remainder of the seats were to be reserved for students entering under the SEEK criteria, with the number to be determined in accord with the principle of achieving ethnic balance among the different units of the City University. For 1970 it was estimated that in a senior college freshman class of approximately 20,000, admissions under the SEEK criteria would number 3,500. (SEEK enrollment was in fact 6,058 that Fall.)

Proposal II planned to admit 60 per cent of the freshman class on the basis of rank in school and approximately 15 per cent under the SEEK criteria, with the exact proportion determined to achieve ethnic balance. The remaining 25 per cent were to be admitted on the basis of stated preferences with the proviso that, where preferences exceed the number of available places, those places will be assigned by lot. The net effect was to increase the opportunity for admission to a senior college of students in the lower-ranks of their school classes.

Proposal III was to admit the major portion of freshmen on the basis of rank in class, and was to reserve sufficient seats in the SEEK program with the exact number to be determined to achieve ethnic balance. In addition, it would reserve additional places to insure that students previously admitted to specific senior and community colleges would still be so admitted.

Lengthy and heated public hearings were held on these proposals. It was in these hearings that widespread public support for instituting open admissions at CUNY and for the use of class rank as a criterion for allocation evinced itself. Despite such support however, none of the Commission's proposals were implemented. Chancellor Bowker chose to ignore all three plans and mandate his own. As one source put it: "He (Bowker) said nice things about the Commission, but really thought they were a bunch of horses asses." Bowker's ability to successfully pull off such a feat is an indication of his strength. The plan initiated by Bowker drew criticism from a number of camps. Conservatives denounced it as an insured plan for the destruction of CUNY's academic prestige, and offered to put the "undesirables" in "delousing centers" off campus. Vice-President Agnew added his two cents over the matter. More radical critics protested the plan's perpetuation of hierarchical and segregated segments within the University.

As one active professor at City College put it:

> Basically, you've got three types of kids who are by-and-large in anyway. They are predominately white—they are overwhelmingly white, they are overwhelmingly Catholic, they are overwhelmingly lower middle class. They are a large portion of the open admissions' group. Then you've got the second pool of kids who have averages between 75 and 78. They are also overwhelmingly white, they are also overwhelmingly lower middle class, they work more toward a working-class profile and again a very high proportion of Catholics. Then you've got this third high-risk pool. Kids with averages under 75. They got in on the rule that they stood in the top half of their graduating class in high school. And some of those kids have 68 averages, 69 or 70 or 64, and they are predominately Black and Puerto Rican. They are the smallest part of the open admissions pool and the highest risk. I think BHE deliberately structured, deliberately engineered such an allocation system to prevent breaking these patterns. The senior colleges remain overwhelmingly the bastion of these first two groups of kids.

In testimony before the Joint Legislative Committe on Higher Education, a University Official described the allocation system:

1. Students are admitted to the college of their choice (as indicated on the application) to the extent of available spaces. Where demand at any college or program exceeds the available spaces, students are given preference on the basis of high school average or rank in class whichever is more favorable to the student.
2. The SEEK and College Discovery Program have been continued with eligibility determined on the basis of family income. Selection among applicants is done by lottery and allocation on the basis of student choice.
3. Students whose high school average is 80 per cent or who ranked in the top 50 per cent of their class are guaranteed admission to a senior college of the University if they choose.

The allocation system works in the following manner. The system centers around the provision that any student who has a high school grade point average above 80; or who ranks in the top half of *his own graduating class* is guaranteed a seat in a senior college. This provision is intended to minimize the effects of a two track system of community and senior colleges. But this is misleading, for students are not allocated to senior colleges on the basis of an 80 grade point average or of ranking in the top half of a graduating class.

High school seniors complete applications to CUNY. The students are asked to rank their first six choices, selecting both a curriculum and a specific college. Everything from a hotel management to a liberal arts curriculum is offered. There are more than 200 codes. The applications are forwarded along with the student's transcript, to the University Application Processing Center, where a computer has on file the transcripts of every high school senior in the city. The computer filed 55,000 applications for Fall, 1972 admissions, including the students coded choices, their grade point averages, and their class rank.

In March teams from the Office of Admission Services visit each unit of the University and ask the various colleges how many seats they have in every code. The colleges, working from past experience, calculate the show rates for each program. For example, the show rate for students in the liberal arts program at Queens College is about 65 per cent, while the show rate for nursing students is about 75–80 per cent. The show rates are used to calculate the cut points for each program at each campus; there is a positive correlation between the two. The same cut points are used from the preceeding year, with continued adjustments being made until all seats are filled. Hunter College liberal arts fills early; the nursing programs fill early; some do not fill at all. The cut point at Queens College was 84 in 1972–73, then dropped to 74 in 1972–73 because of the additional spaces some new facilities provided.

For example, there were roughly 3,000 seats in the liberal arts program at Queens and 7,000 applicants who indicated this as their first choice for Fall, 1972. Applicants are chosen according to high school averages or class rank in descending order from the top, until the 3,000th name is reached. This becomes the cut point for that program. It is critical to note that the order in which students are allocated is determined by strict academic rank. The allocation system places students in one of ten admissions grouping. Students are placed in the highest grouping for which they are eligible. Allocations are based on the rank within the ten groupings as follows:

GROUP/PERCENTILE RANK IN HIGH SCHOOL CLASS/OR/HIGH SCHOOL AVERAGE

Group	% Rank	High School Average
I	Top tenth (90th Percentile)	90% or higher
II	Second tenth (80th Percentile)	87.5%
III	Third tenth (70th Percentile)	85%
IV	Fourth tenth (60th Percentile)	82.5%
V	Fifth tenth (50th Percentile)	80%
VI	Sixth tenth (40th Percentile)	77.5%
VII	Seventh tenth (30th Percentile)	75%
VIII	Eighth tenth (20th Percentile)	72.5%
IX	Ninth tenth (10th Percentile)	70%
X	Tenth tenth (0 Percentile)	under 70%

Under this plan, those programs which are in the most demand will be filled by students from the upper echelons of the academic ranks. Students with lower rankings are automatically relegated to less desirable programs. This process creates a self-perpetuating effect, where the "better" programs become more and more the exclusive property of those with high grade point averages and class rank, and the less desirable programs become inherited solely by those with low averages and class rank. Only the use of class rank prevents the system from being a strict meritocratic one. The correlation that low grades has ethnicity and low family income is direct, and because of this the programs become not only academically segregated, but racially and economically segregated as well. The effects of this allocation system are clear from an analysis of demographic data on CUNY's student body.

Ethnicity

City University has inherited nothing less than a shocking situation regarding the educational status of minority high school students. Although CUNY is now providing the opportunity of a college education for significant numbers of Black and Puerto Rican students *with high school diplomas*, the rate at which these students drop out prior to graduation prevents even larger numbers of minority students from enrolling. In the Fall of 1970, 9,304 Black and Puerto Rican students matriculated,[29] while a total of 12,300 Black and Puerto Rican students dropped out of high school between the junior and senior years[30] Birnbaum's study of New York City high school graduates documents the appalling rate at which these students leave high school, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7*

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE 11TH AND 12TH GRADES OF PUBLIC ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS WITH PROJECTION OF ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATING CLASS

	Ethnic Group			
Grade & Date	Black	P.R. & Other Latin American	White & other	Total
11th Grade (12/68)	15,733 24.07%	7,627 11.67%	41,992 64.26%	65,352
12th Grade (12/69)	10,428 21.01%	4,718 9.50%	34,494 69.49%	49,640
Graduated (1/70 - 6/70) (Projected)	7,645 18.46%	3,192 7.71%	30,562 73.82%	41,399

* Source: Birnbaum, *The Graduates*, p. 43

From the projection in Table 7 Birnbaum is able to calculate probable ethnic distribution of high school graduates.

Table 8*

PROBABLE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, 1970

	Ethnic Groups			
Type of School	Puerto Rican	Black	White	Total
Public Academic	7% 3,192	18.4% 7,645	73.8% 30,562	41,399
Public Vocational	30.6% 1,686	33.5% 1,846	35.8% 1,973	5,511
Non-Public	5.0% 1,075	5.0% 1,075	90.0% 19,350	21,500
Total	8.7% 5,953	15.4% 10,566	75.8% 51,885	68,410

* Birnbaum

The different types of high schools refer to the different schools in the New York City system. Public academic high schools are commonly divided into three groups—high, middle, and low—referring to the academic achievement levels of the student body. The few minorities who are enrolled in public academic high schools are overwhelmingly found in the middle and low schools: 83.4 per cent of the Puerto Rican students enrolled in academic schools in the 1970 senior class have averages below 80; 88.2 per cent of the black students enrolled in academic schools have averages below 80. But the vast majority of Black and Puerto Rican students are found in the vocational high schools. Minority students comprised only 20.4 per cent of the enrollment in public academic high schools in 1970, while they made up 60.5 per cent of the vocational schools' enrollment. These data make two things painfully clear. 1) Minorities are tracked into vocational programs at the high school level. 2) Attrition rates of minorities (51.4 per cent for Black, 58.2 per cent for Puerto Rican students) are more than double the rate for white students (27.2 per cent). Not only are minority students cooled out of New York City's high schools, thus denying them admission to City University, but those who do graduate are channelled into low-level academic positions.

City University finds itself in the unhappy position of inheriting this situation. The original call for open admissions was sounded by Black and Puerto Rican students in the City College uprisings of 1969 over the issue of equal access to higher education for New York City's minorities. Much was made of the fact that CUNY's open admissions policy would greatly benefit Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Open Admissions has indeed evened the number of minority freshman with the number of minority high school graduates, as Table 9 shows.

Table 9*

ETHNIC CENSUS OF MATRICULATED FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN 1968-1971

Group	1970 NYC[a] H.S. Graduates		1971 NYC H.S. Graduates	Fall '68	Fall, '69	Fall '70	Fall, '71
Black	15.4%	16%	16%	9.3%	13.7%	17.7%	21.0%
			11,348	1,668	2,775	6,286	8,234
Puerto Rican	8.7%	10%	9%	5.0%	5.9%	8.5%	8.6%
			6,383	897	1,195	3,018	3,372
Other[b]	75.8%	74%	75%	85.7%	80.4%	73.8%	70 4%
			53,191	15,373	16,283	26,207	27,605

[a] Left column figures from Birnbaum's estimate, right column figures from 1970 Undergraduate Ethnic Census

[b] Includes no response from CUNY Ethnic Census

* Source: 1971 Undergraduate Ethnic Census

In short, CUNY succeeded in *admitting* substantial numbers of Black and Puerto Rican students. College enrollment rates are impressively similar for both ethnic and white students: 63.1 per cent for Puerto Rican students, 66.8 per cent for other Latin American students, 67.0 per cent for Black students, 77.7 per cent for white students, and 87.8 per cent for oriental and other students.[31] The difference between Puerto Rican and white students was only 14.6 per cent and between Black and white students only 10.7 per cent in 1970. But where these students were allocated is the central question, and the allocation policy used by the Board guaranteed a near mirror image of the track system found in the high schools. Where Black and Puerto Rican students are significantly over-represented in public vocational schools, so are they over-represented in community colleges. Similarly, minority students are under-represented in both public academic high schools and senior colleges. Table 10 shows the ethnic distribution of freshmen to the various colleges.

The discrimination against minorities is clear. In 1970, although 17.7 per cent of the matriculated freshmen were Black, only 14.8 per cent of the senior college population was Black, while Blacks comprised 22.1 per cent of the community college population. Puerto Ricans comprised 8.5 per cent of the freshman class that year, but only 6.6 per cent of the senior colleges, while making up 11.4 per cent of the community colleges. These disproportions were reinforced in 1971. Blacks, making up 21.0 per cent of the freshman class, comprised 17.4 per cent of the senior college population, but 25.1 per cent of the community college population. Puerto Ricans faired no better. While 8.6 per cent of the freshman class, they comprised 10.4 per cent of the community colleges, but only 7.0 per cent of the senior colleges. But beyond these structural inequities lie a slough of inequities among specific colleges which are also indicated in Table 10. Some of the most glaring contrasts are these. Queens College's minority enrollment was 11.6 per cent in 1970, 16.9 per cent in 1971, while City College's minority enrollment was 32.1 per cent in 1970, and 34.9 per cent in 1971. In 1971 Medgar Evers College's minority enrollment was 84.3 per cent, 74.1 per cent Black. The community colleges too have their racial separations. The minority enrollment of Queensborough Community College was 11.3 per cent in 1970 and 14.1 per cent in 1971. Kingsborough Community College's minority enrollment was 21.7 per cent and 20.7 per cent respectively. But Borough of Manhattan Community College was comprised of 56.6 per cent and 56.4 per cent minority students in those years. Bronx Community College enrolled 49.0 per cent and 54.0 per cent minority students. And Hostos Community College's population was 80 per cent Black and Puerto Rican for both years. Thus those Blacks and Puerto Ricans who do manage to graduate from New York City's high schools (their chances are less than one in two) and eventually matriculate to a unit of the City University find themselves in a familiar position. They have been allocated to the poorer schools, avoiding the more protected "white" institutions. Under the current allocation system, schools like Queens College and Kingsborough Community College will not be faced with a stampede of ethnic students. That task will be directed toward such schools as City College and Borough of Manhattan Community College. Furthermore, open admissions, given the allocation policy used, cannot be credited with the placement of many Blacks and Puerto Ricans in senior colleges. That credit rests largely with the SEEK Program, without which minority representation would be much lower (see Table 2).

Family Income

It is no coincidence that the discrimination which shows itself in the allocation of minority students is mirrored for those students with low family incomes. Just

Table 10*
FIRST-TIME MATRICULATED FRESHMEN (FULL OR PART-TIME)

	1969				1970				1971			
	Black	Puerto Rican	White	Others	Black	Puerto Rican	White	Others	Black	Puerto Rican	White	Others
Baruch	17.3%	8.8%	70.2%	3.6%	15.9%	6.9%	66.1%	11.1%	13.6%	7.2%	74.3%	5.0%
Brooklyn	14.2	4.0	78.5	3.2	13.4	5.9	77.7	3.1	14.6	5.9	76.2	3.2
City	8.5	4.9	77.7	8.8	23.9	8.2	57.8	10.2	25.0	9.9	56.9	8.3
Evers	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	74.1	10.2	14.1	1.6
Hunter	13.0	7.9	73.4	5.7	17.3	9.5	67.5	5.8	15.1	7.5	72.2	5.2
John Jay	11.7	6.3	80.2	1.8	21.1	10.9	66.2	1.9	14.2	12.8	71.6	1.3
Lehman	4.2	5.1	86.9	3.8	11.8	8.7	75.1	4.5	11.5	9.9	74.8	3.7
Queens	7.3	1.7	87.7	3.3	9.1	2.5	85.6	2.7	14.0	2.9	80.5	2.6
Richmond	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
York	10.8	2.5	82.2	4.4	16.7	2.4	77.6	3.3	18.1	3.8	76.4	1.5
Total Senior College	12.0	4.8	78.8	4.5	14.8	6.6	73.8	4.8	17.4	7.0	71.8	3.9
Brgh of Manhattan	29.6	17.6	46.5	6.3	35.5	21.1	37.9	5.5	39.6	16.8	39.1	4.5
Bronx	21.7	12.1	60.2	6.0	29.9	19.1	45.2	5.8	36.9	18.1	40.9	4.0
Hostos	......	......	......	......	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	39.3	40.8	16.9	2.9
Kingsborough	11.5	5.8	80.5	2.3	17.9	3.8	74.7	3.6	15.6	4.1	78.1	2.2
LaGuardia	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	17.4	4.6	73.5	4.3
New York City	22.6	1.3	59.7	6.3	32.8	13.9	46.2	7.1	33.9	12.0	49.3	4.8
Queensborough	10.2	1.6	85.9	2.4	10.4	1.9	84.7	3.1	12.0	2.1	82.8	3.1
Staten Island	11.8	4.2	80.0	3.9	11.1	5.4	80.8	2.6	10.6	4.2	82.5	2.8
Total Community Col.	16.5	7.7	71.6	4.3	22.1	11.1	62.4	4.1	25.1	10.4	60.9	3.6
TOTAL CUNY	13.8%	5.9%	75.9%	4.3%	17.7%	8.5%	69.3%	4.6%	21.0%	8.6%	66.7%	3.7%

NOTE: Columns may not equal 100.0% due to rounding.

* Source: CUNY 1971 Undergraduate Ethnic Census, Appendix 1.

as the University inherits a tracking system that discriminates against minorities in the high school, so does it inherit a tracking system that discriminates against students with low family incomes. Table 11 shows the distribution of students in the graduating class of 1970 by family income for the various types of schools.

Table 11*
HIGH SCHOOL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY INCOME (IN $1,000's) GRADUATING CLASS, 1970

Type of School	-3.7	3.7-5.0	5.0-7.5	7.5-10	10-12.5	12.5-15	15+	no ans.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Public Academic H.S.	7.3	7.3	14.1	17.6	15.3	10.0	13.6	14.6
Public Vocational H.S.	16.8	20.6	20.7	14.5	6.1	3.6	1.5	16.0
Non-public High School	3.2	5.9	13.8	23.4	20.5	11.0	10.9	11.1

* Source: Birnbaum, pp. 62-64

These data indicate significant differences in students' family incomes as related to type of school from which they graduated. In public academic high schools, 14.6 per cent of the graduates reported parental income below $5,000 per year, and 39.0 per cent reported incomes in excess of $10,000. In contrast, 37.5 per cent of all public vocational graduates report incomes below $5,000, while only 11.2 per cent report incomes of over $10,000. The non-public schools have both the smallest proportion of low-income students (9.2 per cent under $5,000) and the highest proportion of high income students (42.4 per cent above $10,000) of any of the three groups. These inequities are mirror images of the distribution by ethnicity among the various types of college.

That CUNY inherits this problem, however, does not overshadow the fact that it perpetuates the problem. Table 12 shows the distribution by family income of the 1970 and 1971 freshman open admissions classes to the senior and community colleges.

Table 12
DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN ADMISSIONS FRESHMEN BY FAMILY INCOME ($1,000's)

1970[a]

	-3.7	3.7-5	5-7.5	7.5-10	10-12.5	12.5-15	15+	no ans.
Senior Colleges	4.7%	6.4%	13.8%	20.1%	18.3%	11.6%	10.9%	14.2%
	958	1314	2814	4111	3747	2362	2231	2892
Community Colleges	10.1%	9.6%	14.7%	19.4%	15.1%	7.2%	7.1%	16.7%
	1225	1154	1780	2338	1828	876	860	2013

1971[b]

	-3	3-6	6-7.5	7.5-9	9-12	12-15	15-20	20+
Senior Colleges	7.5%	16.5%	11.9%	13.2%	23.0%	13.6%	8 6%	5.7%
	950	2076	1486	1661	2895	1716	1090	717
Community Colleges	10.4%	27.6%	12.7%	11.9%	21.0%	9.7%	5.2%	3.0%
	1358	3667	1733	1600	2846	1174	659	409

[a] Source: Birnbaum, p. 136

[b] Source: CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation

NOTE: Income divisions are not identical due to different sources.

A clear pattern arises. In 1970, 24.9 per cent of the freshman class enrolled in senior colleges reported family incomes below $17,500, while 34.4 per cent of the community college freshmen reported family incomes below that level. The difference is perpetuated and enlarged in 1971, for 35.9 per cent of senior college freshmen report family incomes below $7,500, while 50.7 per cent of community college freshmen reported incomes at that level. Differences are even greater for those from poorer backgrounds. Almost twice as many community college freshmen (19.7 per cent) as senior college freshmen (11.1 per cent) reported family incomes below $5,000 in 1970. The gap is similar in 1971, where 24.0 per cent of the senior college freshmen and 38.0 per cent of the community college freshmen reported family incomes below $6,000. On the other end of the scale, the senior colleges over-represented those from high-income levels (10.9 per cent over $15,000 in 1970, 14.3 per cent in 1971) as compared to those in the community colleges (7.1 per cent in 1970, 8.2 per cent in 1971).

Not surprisingly, the same allocation patterns that showed themselves in the distribution of Black and Puerto Rican students to the specific senior and community colleges reoccur in the distribution of low income students. Table 13 shows the distribution of undergraduates by family income among the various colleges in Fall, 1971. (See pages 90, 91.) Some familiar contrasts appear. While 30.3 per cent of City College's students have family incomes below $6,000 per year and more than half (57.3 per cent) of Medgar Evers' students fall in that range, only 19.3 per cent and 14.3 per cent of Brooklyn College's and Queens College's students come from such poor families. Similar patterns appear among the community colleges, where 44.4 per cent of Borough of Manhattan Community College students reported family incomes below $6,000. But only 17.7 per cent and 25.4 per cent of Queensborough and Kingsborough Community Colleges' students report such low family incomes. In those colleges, 32.7 per cent and 26.8 per cent report family incomes above $12,000 per year, while only 22.1 per cent and 4.4 per cent of City College and Medgar Evers College students claim such a family income. Similarly, 32.7 per cent and 26.8 per cent of Queensborough Community and Kingsborough Community College students come from families earning more than $12,000 per year, but only 12.7 per cent and 4.9 per cent of Borough of Manhattan Community and Hostos Community College's students report such family incomes.

Once again, as in the case of minority students, CUNY's open admissions policy does provide admission to low income students who would not normally have

Table 13*

DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY INCOME IN # AND % FOR FALL 1971 OF ALL UNDERGRADUATES

			NYCCC	SICC	BxCC	QCC	KCC	BMCC	HCC	LaGCC	Total
COMMUNITY COLLEGES	0- 2,999	%	10.7	8.0	14.3	5.6	9.2	14.6	22.3	5.8	10.6
		#	1630	685	1681	718	679	1390	247	39	7039
	3,000- 5,999	%	23.3	17.5	24.3	12.1	16.2	29.3	35.3	18.1	20.9
		#	3549	1498	2357	1550	1143	2836	391	122	13946
	6,000- 7,499	%	18.1	12.3	18.5	12.3	11.5	16.9	17.7	16.3	15.4
		#	2757	1053	2175	1576	812	1608	196	109	10286
	7,500- 8,999	%	15.2	15.6	14.3	13.7	14.3	13.0	10.9	16.3	14.3
		#	2315	1335	1681	1755	1009	1237	121	109	9562
	9,000-11,999	%	17.5	23.6	15.4	23.6	22.0	13.0	8.9	19.4	18.8
		#	2666	2020	1810	3023	1553	1237	98	130	12537
	12,000-14,999	%	8.8	12.1	7.7	16.8	12.2	7.0	4.0	12.3	10.6
		#	1341	1035	905	2153	861	666	44	83	7088
	15,000-19,999	%	4.4	7.0	3.7	9.3	8.5	3.5	.8	7.7	5.8
		#	670	599	435	1192	600	333	9	52	3896
	20,000+	%	2.0	3.9	1.8	6.6	6.1	2.2	.1	4.1	3.6
		#	305	334	212	846	431	209	1	28	2366
	Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		#	15233	8559	11756	12813	7058	9516	1107	672	6674

* Source: CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation

Table 13*

DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY INCOME IN # AND % FOR FALL 1971 OF ALL UNDERGRADUATES

			City	Hunter	Brook-lyn	Queens	J. Jay	Rich mond	York	Lehman	Baruch	Evers	Total	Uni-versity Total
SENIOR COLLEGES	0- 2,999	%	11.2	7.1	6.2	4.9	4.4	7.0	5.9	6.1	5.3	18.8	6.8	8.2
		#	1955	1287	1479	1123	209	143	160	688	431	209	7728	14767
	3,000- 5,999	%	19.1	15.0	13.1	9.4	8.8	12.9	12.7	13.8	12.3	39.5	13.6	16.3
		#	3334	2718	3125	2154	418	264	344	1557	1115	416	15445	29391
	6,000- 7,000	%	13.9	12.6	11.3	8.4	9.1	10.9	11.0	12.6	10.8	20.7	11.3	12.8
		#	2426	2284	2694	1925	337	223	298	1422	979	223	12811	23497
	7,500- 8,999	%	14.5	15.0	14.1	12.1	7.9	13.7	13.9	14.8	14.6	9.3	13.7	13.9
		#	2531	2718	3364	2773	345	281	376	1670	1323	100	15501	25063
	9,000-11,999	%	19.2	23.1	23.3	25.9	32.3	23.9	23.5	25.7	25.5	8.3	23.8	22.0
		#	3351	4186	5558	5736	1533	489	636	2900	2311	90	26990	39527
	12,000-14,999	%	11.1	12.0	14.4	17.4	26.2	15.0	15.2	13.6	15.8	2.0	14.6	13.1
		#	1937	2175	3735	3988	1243	307	411	1534	1432	22	16454	23572
	15,000-19,999	%	6.5	8.2	10.1	12.4	9.0	10.6	10.3	8.3	9.7	1.4	9.4	8.1
		#	1135	1436	2410	2842	427	217	279	936	879	15	10626	14516
	20,000 +	%	4.5	7.0	7.5	9.5	4.5	6.0	7.5	5.1	6.0	1.0	6.8	5.6
		#	785	1269	1789	2177	214	123	203	575	544	11	7690	10056
	Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		#	17454	18123	23854	22918	4746	2047	2707	11282	9064	1080	113275	179989

been admitted. However, these students find themselves segregated by the allocation policy. The tracking they experienced in high school is repeated in the City University. Such an experience for both low income and minority students (two groups that overlap considerably) virtually insures frustrating expectations which are raised by the promise of open admissions. A look at student allocation according to academic rank will show the correlation between ethnicity, income and grades and will document the tracking effect that an allocation system based on academic rank will have in the student population.

Academic Average

As can be expected the distribution of high school students by grades among the various types of schools over-represents students with high averages in public academic (38.7 per cent above 80) and non-public high schools (57.7 per cent above 80) and under-represents such students in the public vocational schools (20.4 per cent)[32] Students with low academic averages are virtually non-existent in non-public high schools (2.8 per cent under 70), but are equally present in public academic and vocational schools (18.0 per cent and 19.8 per cent respectively). The allocation policy of CUNY manages to magnify the separation of students with high and low averages by the distinction between senior and community colleges. Table 14 shows the distribution of 1970 and 1971 freshmen by grade point average.

Table 14
DISTRIBUTION OF FRESHMEN BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE

	85+	80-85	75-80	70-75	70-
1970[a]					
Senior College	30.5	29.1	23.2	12.2	4.9
Community College	3.0	10.8	27.6	37.0	21.6
1971[b]					
Senior College	28.0	26.3	24.0	13.4	7.3
Community College	3.1	9.4	23.6	34.6	39.4

[a] Birnbaum, p. 94

[b] CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation

The contrasts are extreme. In 1970, 59.6 per cent of the senior college students had averages above 80, while only 13.8 per cent—less than one fourth the senior college figure—had such averages in the community colleges. The separation is ten times as great for students with averages above 85. That year the senior colleges enrolled only 4.9 per cent of its freshmen with averages below 70, while the community colleges enrolled 21.6 per cent. The gap widened somewhat in 1971, when 54.3 per cent of the senior college freshman had averages above 80, while 12.5 per cent of the community college freshman had such averages. More striking, however, is the gap between those students with averages below 70 in the senior colleges (7.3 per cent) and those in the community colleges (39.4 per cent), a figure nearly six times that for the senior colleges. Once again, as table 15 shows, familiar biases appear among the various colleges.

Table 15*

DISTRIBUTION OF 1971 FRESHMEN BY ACADEMIC AVERAGES

School	+85	80-85	75-80	70-75	70-
CCNY	16.1%	25.8%	29.0%	22.6%	6.4%
Baruch	13.3	26.6	40.0	20.0	6.6
Hunter	25.0	39.6	25.0	10.7	1.8
Lehman	17.4	26.1	34.6	17.4	4.5
Brooklyn	56.6	26.6	13.3	3.3	3.3
Queens	53.3	26.6	10.0	3.3	10.0
York	4.3	25.0	39.1	24.0	8.6
John Jay	2.4	12.0	31.3	24.1	30.1
Evers	3.4	3.4	14.6	28.5	50.0
SICC	4.0	10.0	21.5	31.0	32.5
BxCC	1.7	6.0	16.6	29.0	42.7
QCC	3.0	7.4	29.6	33.3	22.2
KCC	2.1	10.2	26.3	31.6	36.8
BMCC	1.0	5.2	15.7	31.6	42.1
NYCC	4.2	10.2	21.0	31.6	36.8
HCC	1.4	5.8	17.4	24.6	49.0
LaGCC	4.1	8.2	20.4	40.8	20.4

* Source: CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation
NOTE: Rows do not add to 100 per cent due to rounding.

Again significant differences show themselves among the colleges. While 56.6 per cent and 53.3 per cent of Brooklyn and Queens College freshmen had averages above 85, only 13.3 per cent and 16.1 per cent of Baruch and City College freshmen had such high averages. These students were virtually non-existent at York (4.3 per cent), John Jay (2.4 per cent) and Medgar Evers (3.4 per cent). Similarly, while only 1.8 per cent of Hunter College freshmen and 3.3 per cent of Brooklyn College freshmen had averages below 70, 30.1 per cent of John Jay and 50.0 per cent of Medgar Evers freshmen showed such records. The community colleges do not escape this bias either. The figures for students with high averages are close; they are all extremely low. However, while Bronx, Hostos and Borough of Manhattan Community Colleges all enrolled more than 40 per cent of their freshmen with averages under 70, Queensborough and La Guardia Community College enrolled less than half that percentage.

It is clear from these data that the student allocation policy used in the City University's open admissions program consistently isolates minority students, low income students and students with low academic averages. Not only is this accomplished through the two track system of senior and community colleges, but also through biases of specific schools, i.e. those with high cut points. The allocation system is based on strict academic rank, either grade point average or class rank. The correlation between grades and socio-economic status is so strong that any allocation system based on academic qualification automatically discriminates against both poor and Black and Puerto Rican students.

Table 15[a]

COLLEGE ATTENDANCE RATIOS BY GRADES, INCOMES AND ETHNICITY

Income and Ethnicity

	Low				Medium				High				Total		
Grades	PR	B	W	Tot	PR	B	W	Tot	PR	B	W	Tot	PR	B	W
High	.769	.789	.853	.832	.932*	.937	.877	.880	.745*	.883*	.933	.930	.793	.850	.893
Medium	.707	.710	.684	.697	.655	.799	.751	.752	.586*	.846	.819	.817	.700	.742	.752
Low	.491	.603	.498	.544	.349*	.758	.552	.590	......	.333*	.606	.582	.472	.627	.546
TOTAL	.686	.684	.724	.706	.685	.817	.798	.796	.660	.773	.870	.864	.683	.720	.802

[a] Source: Birnbaum, p. 140

* Cells based on less than 200 weighted responses, and are not considered reliable.

From Table 15a Birnbaum argues that 1) income appears to have little affect on college attendance rates when grades are held constant, 2) that grades have a much higher correlation with college going rates than income does, and 3) ethnicity seems to significantly affect college going rates. He notes that Puerto Ricans have the smallest rates, and that Blacks, in six of the nine cells, have the highest rates. Despite this, the Black college attendance rate is still lower than the rate for white students, because Blacks are more likely to be in low income groups with relatively low grades.

Table 16*

CORRELATION BETWEEN GRADES AND FAMILY INCOME OF 1970 PUBLIC ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

		+85	80-85	75-80	70-75	70-
Less than $3,700	row	8.6	8.8	20.5	29.6	32.4
	column	2.8	3.8	7.4	9.5	13.2
3,700-5,000	row	8.4	12.5	24.8	31.4	22.7
	column	2.8	5.4	8.8	10.0	9.1
5,000-7,500	row	15.4	15.9	19.3	25.4	24.0
	column	10.0	13.3	13.4	15.8	18.8
7,500-10,000	row	20.6	17.3	18.7	24.5	19.0
	column	16.6	18.0	16.1	19.0	18.5
10,000-12,500	row	24.6	18.8	21.2	22.2	13.3
	column	17.3	17.0	15.9	14.9	11.3
12,500-15,000	row	26.3	20.7	23.3	21.0	8.7
	column	12.1	12.3	11.5	9.3	4.8
More than 15,000	row	40.5	21.3	16.1	12.1	10.0
	column	25.3	17.1	10.8	7.2	7.5
no answer	row	19.5	15.1	22.4	22.4	20.6
	column	13.0	13.0	16.0	14.4	16.7

* Source: Birnbaum p. 62

NOTE: First rows indicate percentages for that row; second rows indicate percentages for that column.

In essence Birnbaum minimizes the importance of income as a factor affecting college attendance rates. However, this conclusion ignores the strong correlation between grades and income, as shown in Table 16.

Birnbaum concedes that: "Of course, students with higher incomes are still more likely than low income or medium income students to earn high grades, but once grades have been earned, they, rather than income, became the variable most related to college attendance."[33] Table 16 shows that this is like arguing that the chicken came before the proverbial egg. The two are clearly inextricable. Of the students earning averages higher than 85, 25.3 per cent come from families with incomes in excess of $15,000 a year; 2.9 per cent of those students with family incomes of less than $3,700 per year earned such grades; 32.4 per cent of the low income graduates earned averages below 70, but only 10.0 per cent of those students from affluent families received such low grades. The data indicates a clear and consistent trend.

Raw data from the CUNY Office of Data Collection and Evaluation indicate that there is a disproportionate correlation between being Black or Puerto Rican and poor. This is no new finding, but taken with the correlation between family income and academic average, a significant conclusion can be drawn. Grades, as many radical critics have long noted, are a subtle form of tracking poor people and ethnic minorities into low-level educational, and subsequently low-level economic slots. Through its current student allocation system, CUNY is guilty—deliberately or inadvertententlyーof perpetuating such a tracking system. This constitutes one of the greatest shortcomings of the University's open admissions policy. By creating and perserving such socio-economic inequities, CUNY is negating a substantial portion of the potential open admissions has to alleviate such injustices.

The Colleges

It is significant to note the statistical characteristics of the open admissions program at City University; however that alone does not yield an understanding of the educational details and effects of the program. To complete such an understanding it is necessary to examine the details of the open admissions program at each campus. In this sense, CUNY provides the perfect model for such study. Each campus, with its own identity, its own leadership, its own problems, has its own open admissions program. Some are particularly successful in certain areas, e.g. counseling, writing workshop, tutoring program. Others are marked with certain failures. All offer experience in coping with the problems facing a college that has admitted an entire population of students it previously has judged uneducatable.

The Senior Colleges

CUNY presently has ten senior colleges. All, with the exception of Richmond College, an upper-division college unaffected by open admissions until Fall 1972, will be covered here.

City College Of New York

CCNY, founded in 1847 as the Free Academy and located on the west side of Manhattan, is the oldest of the University's colleges. In addition to its College of Liberal Arts and Science, the City College includes the School of Education, School of Engineering, School of Architecture and a School of Nursing affiliated with Mount Sinai Hospital. Situated on the western fringe of Harlem, City College has been profoundly affected by open admissions. Because the SEEK program originated in 1965 at CCNY, the school has more experience with under-prepared students than any other unit of City University. That experience provided the foundation upon which the college built its response to the 1970 freshman class.

In Fall 1969 CCNY admitted 1,750 freshmen; in Fall 1970, the first year of open admissions, it enrolled 2,440. The increase jolted the college. The space situation became critical. As one English teacher noted:

> There is a physical reality of inadequate space. The students can't hear you and you can't hear the students. The registrars get cranky. Don't minimize the physical impact of open admissions on this already tight campus.

"Classrooms" were fabricated out of plywood sheets in the Great Hall. Registration was frightfully disorganized, with no provisions made to guide the new students through the bureaucratic maze. Three hundred sections of remedial courses were added, forty to fifty for SEEK and about 240 as a function of open admissions. Eighty additional teaching lines were added at an average salary of $15,000. (CUNY has the highest paid faculty in the country.) Seven to eight counselors were added, also at $15,000. With 23 per cent added to salaries for fringe benefits, and about $100,000 in fees paid to student tutors, the "cost" of open admissions at City College can be estimated at about $1.6 million in 1970 out of a $25 million budget. But as one administrator put it:

> It's difficult to say what the cost of open admissions is. Open admissions can't really be seen as a separate program. It is the responsibility of each department and curriculum to provide for the students' needs. The department chairman sees a specious distinction, between "open admission funds" and "regular funds." To college administrators, it's less specious. The critical factor is that we are spending the money in ways we shouldn't normally. We're buying $2 million worth of change.

Change certainly has occurred on the campus. 26.6 per cent of the 1970 freshmen were Black or Puerto Rican, and 32.4 per cent of the 1971 freshmen were minority students, while in 1969, prior to open admissions, the freshman class was only 15.4 per cent Black and Puerto Rican.[34] Furthermore, CCNY was faced with a disproportionately large share of underprepared students (1,580 of 2,879 freshman in 1971 with averages below 80). Initially the college was unprepared for such a large number of students in need of compensatory work. "I saw documents from 80th Street dated as late as June (1970) that said we were only getting two to three hundred underprepared students" was one dean's lament. "Some departments were told open admissions wouldn't affect them at all."

City College is a good example of a college whose response to open admission has become more sensitive to students needs with experience. In the beginning students were placed on the basis of reading, writing and math tests. This supplemented the University-wide Stanford reading test, which was never meant to be used as a placement device. All freshmen submitted a sample of their writing to the English department. The math department devised its own test. Originally students were placed in courses identical to those for SEEK students.

Students registered with "relatively little counseling," (as one dean understated the case.) There was considerable chaos in the Fall of 1970. City College, which traditionally has had a highly structured curriculum, needed to provide very little advice for entering freshmen in the past. An administrator noted what happened was that "probably no one thought of doing anything special for these new students." As a result, many freshmen found themselves in courses they simply were not prepared for. That Spring the counseling office organized a program advisement project for the 250 entering freshmen. By Fall 1971, each student (not just freshmen) enrolling for two or more remedial courses was called in and almost entirely preregistered. As the head of the program stated: "we've about developed an appropriate counseling and advisement system."

Counseling at City College is fragmented. There is a separate department for SEEK students (as at most of the senior colleges) and separate provisions for "high risk" students, who are defined as those students taking two or more remedial courses. There are financial aid counselors, academic counselors, student activity counselors, and psychological counselors. These offices exist for each of the five schools. In addition, the clinical psychology counselors handle the "high risk" student's problems. There is little or no coordination among all of these offices.

City College's efforts at curriculum reform and change in course structure typify the efforts of some of CUNY's most dedicated faculty. There are a large number of teachers who are terribly excited by the new students they face, teachers who refuse to submit to the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure for these students. To be sure, the entire campus has by no means been overcome with a dedication to providing for the needs of underprepared students, both Black and Puerto Rican, Irish and Italian. But there is a significant and vigorous effort toward that goal. Developments in the biology, chemistry and English departments illustrate this movement.

The SEEK Program provided the biology department with compensatory educational experience prior to open admissions. The same type of student was in need of special assistance, namely those with deficiencies in math and science backgrounds. The department tried a number of approaches. The quickest answer, tutoring, was first tried and is still used to some extent. But it is not that helpful in biology because, as one professor put it, "The students don't really understand their difficulties. They have poor science backgrounds. And they don't know what they don't know." Extra hours were provided for visitation, but as in the tutoring program, students tended not to show. The standard course was stretched over a year. More students passed with this course, but many were found to be unprepared for the second year's work. They had forgotten much of the first year material.

Each of these steps helped somewhat, but with the increased number of students in need of assistance under open admissions, the problem increased. A multi-media tutorial program, first proposed in 1966, was funded in 1971–72 and seems to be "very useful" to some students, particularly the stronger and weaker ones. The challenge, as one professor put it,

> lies in accepting low achieving students. There is an abundance of students with poorer vocabularies. Care has to go into the phrasing of exam questions and lectures. Teaching is a really serious, difficult job, not a casual effort. It takes time and understanding, without being wishy-washy.
>
> Some faculty members will say the open admissions student just can't be taught; that there's one group who belongs in college, and one group that does not.
>
> Another group of professors say we have no choice; we cannot consign students to a waste heap. We must all try.

The chemistry department was faced with a similar problem. Although at first the faculty did not expect large numbers of open admissions students to enroll in chemistry, it was noted that both nursing students and pre-med or clinical psychology students needed chemistry as a course prerequisite. The chairman of the department led an overhauling of the introductory curriculum. A new three semester course, spread over one and a half years, was set up. No extra credit was given for the extra course hours. Students were allowed to drop the course without failing. The first year about 35 per cent (75–80 students) dropped out of the course.

It was found that the department had to identify more closely math deficiencies in the students, and a minimum level of mathematical skill was determined. With the math requirement and the slower three semester chemistry course, students could cope. The first two terms were sufficient for nursing students; pre-meds needed the third term, which was reserved for more theoretical work (bonding theory, etc.)

In addition to the course structure change, the need for outside help was predicted and an "extremely extensive" tutoring program was set up. All of the professorial staff (33) and a roughly equivalent number of graduate students were involved in the program. A room was reserved for tutoring twenty hours a week. Attendance was purely voluntary, and not as high as expected. For some students the hours conflicted with their class schedules. Also one hour of recitation per week (15 students per section) was made mandatory.

As in the case of the biology department, the chemistry department had difficulty teaching this new population of freshmen. Though their math and science background was largely weak, the number of "hard-core" students with only an elementary understanding of math and science was small; students with real apparent deficiencies have "done well." The number of D's and F's in the semester sequence is greater than that of the regular course, but 75 per cent of those who failed the first year have returned. As the department chairman has noted, "this is an indication that our grading standards have not declined. We don't feel we have to pass every one of these kids." The chairman feels that if the program succeeds, it will be largely because of the graduate students.

> They have a rapport with the kids. The ghetto high school kids are working the hardest. There is an ignorance of what college is about. Some don't know what a PhD is or what to do with it when you get it. Seeing these graduate students gives them an understanding of what can be done with a college education.

The English department at CCNY has had singular "success" (the word has no absolute meaning) with its writing program. The questions it finds itself embroiled in now have been clearly stated by the department chairman; evident throughout is the tone of one recognizing the weak relevance of PhD criteria for inner-city youth, yet reluctant to discard cherished, and familiar, values.

> What happens to a department that suddenly finds itself offering 50 per cent writing courses, 15 per cent introductory literature courses, and 35 per cent elective courses, when this same department, only two years before, offered 32 per cent writing courses, 16 per cent introductory courses, and 52 per cent elective courses? What happens when older professorial staff, untrained for the new remedial work, have fewer electives as part of their program and must teach in this remedial program? What happens when some of the newer staff, who do not yet possess the PhD and who, in certain cases, may not be interested in publishing criticism and scholarship, dominate a department numerically? What is the ideal degree for a person teaching in this kind of department? What sort of professional expectations should he have? Does the professor, with his PhD in hand, confront the lecturer, with only his MA, and is a conflict inevitable? Where, finally, is the English department moving in a college whose character is changing more rapidly than ever before?[35]

One teacher in the writing program eloquently told what effect open admissions had on her colleagues.

> There was a financial squeeze, with resentment toward the new teachers and the new students. There was an uneasiness, an awakening—it's good for people to be afraid once in a while. It riled the stream. Before open admissions there was a lot of public debate. Students were being seen in metaphors of illnesses, as infestations, a contagion. We were even talking about student mortality rates.
>
> The solution was seen in the clinical terms of "remedial" programs. Psychologically, one could think that someone else would take care of these students—either fail them or improve them—before they reached them. We had become experts at psyching out the good students, not creating them.

For lack of a good placement test and registration procedure that would allow for refinements in placement, every student went through a similar kind of course —part workshop, part classroom, with support from in-class writing tutors (students) and from the Writing Center. The Center established the great need in the department for a writing service that tends to students' writing needs whenever they come up, rather than in situations created for writing classes. It also proved to be an effective supplement for students having difficulty in their regular classes. About 100 students a week were served by the Center.

Conceptions of style and correctness in writing changed. The verbal power of academicians to weave complicated questions with even more complex answers, calling for a kind of mental juggling act, was seen as a way of putting students down. Instead of starting remedial writing with the concepts of correct grammar usage the faculty learned that if they were to consider a student as a writer, they must start with his or her personal background. Eighty per cent of the students passed English 1. A few (35) were exempted from the rest of the assigned writing sequence, and almost a fifth skipped to the terminal section.

In 1972 an interdepartmental course was tried, relating history, political science and psychology with a reading/writing component. Teachers that students rated highly were chosen for the course. One teacher noted an interesting distinction on the students' reaction to the course.

> There was a lot of group concern over whether or not the students would like the course. Blacks and Puerto Ricans did very much. Many whites didn't like the interconnectedness, the preferred anonymity. The course was a real disappointment for them. These are students who don't want to be in college. They are disadvantaged in a very real sense. They are apathetic.

In many ways the faculty response to open admissions students at City College is like that of a child to a new found wonder. There is much enthusiasm among these teachers. Tensions do exist, and these are exacerbated by the overcrowding. City College has borne a disproportionate share of under prepared students, which some faculty are bitter about. But the racial tensions among students that were so volatile in 1969 are not that evident today. City College, where the first strife over open admissions erupted in 1969, is now fairly smoothly learning to make open admissions educationally viable.

Hunter College

Hunter College was founded in 1870 to provide academic and professional training for women preparing to become teachers. It has recently become coeducational though it still disproportionately enrolls women; the first open admissions freshman class had almost three times as many women as men. The school is situated on the upper east side of Manhattan and does not escape the social connotations of that wealthy neighborhood. The school is seen as somewhat of a social college.

Initially no distinction was made between "regular" students and "open admissions" students at Hunter. There was no special orientation for the students; only one "remedial" course for full credit was offered "as an extension of the freshman writing program." Hunter chose a "compensatory" rather than a remedial approach to education for the first open admissions class. Each department was to assume responsibility for compensatory work in the regular classes. Each department was provided with funds for tutoring, to be paid to faculty, graduate or undergraduate tutors. The assumption behind this compensatory approach to college level work was that no stigma would be placed on students with skills deficiencies. As one administrator described the situation:

> We didn't want to segregate open admissions students from regular students;

> we didn't want to create two sets of freshmen, one with averages above 82 and one with averages below 82. Secondly, for motivational purposes, it would be damaging to require courses without credit which might have had large minority enrollments. We wanted to weld the class together, feeling that skills-building could be done in the regular classes. If, for example, a student was having difficulty with a heavy reading course in sociology, he could have additional hours to help him complete the course by building skills. Students might take fewer classes in such a system, but few new classes were designed for open admissions specifically.

Hunter College has a strong sense of its academic quality, and it was not about to compromise it for the sake of this new student population. As one high school official put it:

> The mission of Hunter is distinct from that of the community colleges. We will not have suceeded if a level of excellence is not maintained, if the quality of education is maimed. The difference between the senior and community colleges is defined in the community college emphasis on career programs and the more academic orientation of the senior colleges.

Unfortunately, Hunter's approach failed. It failed because not all the students responded to the tutoring, nor did they always attend. The faculty was not "tuned in" to these new students; many did not take responsibility for aiding them to make up skills deficiencies. Too much was expected of both the faculty and the students. The lack of coordination of the tutoring and counseling programs hampered effectiveness. A College Task Force on Open Admissions noted these problems and offered various solutions including centralizing tutoring and counseling services and offering a battery of "remedial courses" for partial credit.

An evaluation of the tutoring program during the first year made the following conclusions. Seventeen of 33 departments provided some form of tutorial service, mostly through graduate student tutors, though in several departments faculty members (English) and undergraduated (Romance Languages) predominated. Of those departments reporting the number of students tutored the range spanned from none (Health Science) to over 30 (English). Typically, students were individually tutored, though the Political Science departments tutored small groups of four or five as a supplement to their lectures. Tutors worked with students on the average of one or two hours per day for a maximum of six hours per week, but tutors in Romance Languages often worked 10–12 hours per week.

Most of the students tutored were referred by instructors, though many in need of assistance did not use the available service. Few students appeared voluntarily. Of those who applied for tutoring, most came during the second third of the semester or just before exams. Though tutors indicated major problems in working with students were communication, scheduling and matriculation, most felt the program was effective.

In Fall 1972 Hunter centralized its tutoring facilities under an office, though the English, mathematics and psychology departments continued to receive their own money. It is envisaged some degree of wastage created by departments with inefficient tutoring programs will be eliminated. The various departments will still select their own tutors. Further, the school's administration believes that with the institution of remedial courses the need for tutoring will decrease, thus freeing more money for remedial work. The distinction between "remedial work" and "tutoring" is not clearly made.

In a similar fashion academic counseling has been centralized under one office, the Office of Academic Advising. Originally academic counseling was done with about 100 faculty volunteers, but this failed for similar reasons as the first tutoring program. Students did not keep appointments or appear during office hours. Many students were ignorant of the service, and many faculty felt ill-equipped to advise students about their programs.

In 1972 OAA was set up with three or four full time professional counselors. About twelve or fourteen faculty members were giving one-third of their time to counseling under the Office. At least two people were transferred to the Office from the Dean of Students office. It is too early to determine the effectiveness of this new organization.

A third change in the college's response to open admissions is the institution of a number of credit bearing remedial courses under a special division of the English department. The courses are described as follows:

> Basic Reading I: 3 hours; 1 credit—designed for students reading below the ninth grade level—involves practice in basic comprehension skills at the sentence and paragraph levels and vocabulary development—objective is to raise student's skill to ninth grade level;
> Basic Reading II: 3 hours, 2 credits—designed for students reading at grade levels 9 through 12—aims to increase skills in comprehension and interpretation of college level texts;
> English for Bilingual Students I: 3 hours and conferences; 1 credit—for specially assigned students whose first language is not English—acquisition of basic structures and vocabulary of English through frequent oral and written practice;
> English for Bilingual Students II: 3 hours and conferences; 1 credit—for specially assigned students—frequent practice in writing—special attention to word order and idiomatic expression;
> English for Bilingual Students III: 3 hours and conferences; 2 credits—specially assigned students—frequent short papers;
> Basic Writing Workshop I: 3 hours and conferences; 1 credit—designed for students who need to develop both fluency and skill in composing effective sentences—mastery of auxiliary verbs and sequence of tenses—control of pronouns—correct word order in simple sentences—course will explore differences between written and spoken English;
> Basic Writing Workshop II: 3 hours and conferences; 2 credits—frequent short papers—emphasis on developing sentence variety and coherent paragraphs in standard written English.

Much faculty debate surrounded the offering of these courses for credit. Many resented giving college credit for 9th grade work. Administrators argued that credit was necessary to motivate college age students to study high school material. However, according to one source, the approval of the Academic Senate on May 8, 1972 of the courses was a sheer political gesture, that the administration had made the decision long before that.

Hunter College is not guilty of totally ignoring the needs of underprepared students during the first year. The mathematics and psychology departments developed extensive curriculum and teaching changes to better suit the new student population.

The mathematics department set up a self-pacing catch-all introductory course for most freshmen, designed to meet the needs of both well and poorly prepared students. A great deal of hardware was used. Scores of individual booths with projectors, slides and tapes were used. Students studied curricular modules at their own pace, being tested on them when they felt ready. The program was largely successful, though it was evidently too all inclusive, and did not provide well for the most poorly prepared students. A new course was designed for these students in the summer of 1972 where placement is determined solely on placement test achievement. This test is also used to determine cut offs for students in preparation for science courses, since the science faculty has found that those students who flounder are doing so because of poor computational skills.

The psychology department set up a comprehensive self-pacing study center for freshmen, utilizing undergraduates as "coaches" for the students. There were only two male coaches out of 32 for the first year. The coaches were either paid $3.05 an hour or given three credits for their work.

With a staff consisting of the coordinator (one-third time), an assistant (half time), a course assistant (half time), and a secretary (half time), the self-pacing tutorial system began on a large scale in the fall of 1970 and serviced three sections of about 125 students each of Introductory Psychology. Coaches were provided for each section and were responsible directly to the instructor of that section. A total of 18 coaches were available, so that the average load of each coach was just over 20 students. Schedules of available contact hours for each coach were posted weekly in the classroom and students signed up at 15 minute intervals for a coaching session with any coach from their section who was available when the student was ready to take a quiz.

A coaching room was open from nine to five, 5 days a week; most interactions took place by appointment in that space. The coaches kept their hours there whether or not they had appointments so that students who wanted to ask questions but were not ready to take a quiz could drop in. The room was usually occupied by about 10 people: students taking quizzes, students going over quizzes with coaches or discussing unclear issues from lectures or the textbook, and coaches keeping records.

When a student appeared to take a quiz, his coach selected a subset of the study questions and the student retired to a quiet part of the room to write out the answers. As soon as he was finished, he brought his answer sheet to the coach, who went over it immediately with the student, orally probing for clarification and understanding beyond the written answer. The coach explained wrong answers and then decided whether or not the student had passed that quiz at the criterion level. Therefore, feedback was immediate. The student who failed was simply told to restudy the text and make another appointment to take a different form of the quiz (consisting of a different subset of the questions). No penalty was attached to failing the quiz beyond having to take it over; failing grades were simply entered as zeroes to keep track of how many times a student had taken the quiz on that chapter, but were not counted in the grade. Grades were determined differently by the different instructors: two computed grades on the basis of number of chapters completed (i.e., 11 for an A, 9 for a B, etc.); one used that formula plus a final exam which comprised 30 per cent of the grade.

No attempt was made to systematize the choice of textbook, questions, or structure of class time. All sections were scheduled for three hours a week, but the instructors varied widely in their use of that time: one instructor lectured for three hours a week; another lectured for two hours and held small group discussions for different subsets of the class during the third hour; the third instructor turned his class time over to self-paced interactions between students and coaches while he remained available in the classroom for any students who wanted to speak to him on any topic.

Eight hundred students used the system during the first year. Between 5 and 10 per cent fail on a given quiz. About 250 students dropped the course by the end of the year.

Data compiled by the Office of Institutional Research reveals some significant trends in the number of credits earned by regular, level A and level B students at Hunter. Though generalizations should be avoided, the figures do indicate trends found on other campuses. Students with averages of 83 or more (Hunter's cut point before open admissions) took an average of 15 credits and earned an average of 12.5 credits; students with averages between 70–82.9 took an average of 13.6 credits and earned an average of 9 credits; students with averages below 70 had an average credit load of 10.7 and earned an average of 6.5 credits in Fall 1970.[36] The implications of this for FTE (Full Time Enrollment) funding are clear; those students with lower academic averages, and in need of more supportive services, receive less than half the FTE funding of regular students. Furthermore, a year's work yielded exceedingly low credit for these same students. More than half of those with high school averages below 70 earned fewer than 6 credits. More than one quarter earned fewer than 3 credits. It also becomes clear that the traditional period of four years to obtain a B.A. degree will have to be considerably longer for large numbers of students with poor high school preparation. The statistics are also indicative of a rather poor job of caring for the educational needs of the underprepared student in the first year of open admissions, though the attrition rate that year (11.7 per cent) was not exceedingly high compared to the rate for the freshman class of Fall 1969 (10.7 per cent). It does, however, represent a considerable increase over 1967 and 1968.

Brooklyn College

Brooklyn College, founded in 1930, is one of the two senior colleges (Queens

College is the other) that has succeeded in protecting itself against admitting large numbers of minority and underprepared students. Brooklyn College's Black freshman enrollment in Fall 1969, the last year before open admissions, was only 9.4 per cent. It has increased slightly, though at the same time levelled off, under open admissions (12.2 per cent in 1970, 12.1 per cent in 1971). The Outreach Program, the only concerted effort in CUNY to *recruit* students with poor academic backgrounds from high school and the SEEK Program are responsible for enrolling the majority of Black and Puerto Rican students at Brooklyn College. Puerto Rican enrollment, even under open admissions, is microscopic—2.8 per cent in 1970, 2.9 per cent in 1971. The number of students admitted with low academic averages is also very small, while more than half of the freshman class under open admissions have averages above 85. The cut point for the college has stayed around 84, though it dropped considerably in Fall 1972 due to the opening of new facilities on its 27 acre campus.

The school is located in a heavily Jewish neighborhood of Brooklyn and has in the past served that population well. It continues to do so and even mild efforts to balance ethnic proportions in the college, which would mean admitting more minorities and fewer Jews, are met with near furious resistance. The scenes are almost reminiscent of the boycotts in the South over integrating the public schools. A small, and largely ineffective, modification in the allocation policy by the ethnic mix caused heated public debate and racial tension to flare. The anger was so intense that the Board was forced to back down from its position. Like Hunter, the faculty of Brooklyn is highly jealous of its academic reputation. There is a serious split in the faculty over the issue of open admissions. One administrator stated the situation bluntly:

> A tremendous amount of hostility in this program still exists. Fully half of the faculty at Brooklyn College want to see this program fail. Their attitude is brought out in snide, cynical comments, like those people are ruining academic standards.

To be sure, the approach of Brooklyn College to the problems accompanying open admissions has been less than innovative. In 1970 only one placement test was given to the incoming freshmen of Brooklyn. This was an English composition test. The CUNY tests were also given to determine reading and math levels but these were not used in placing students. Of 3,500 freshmen, 450 took compensatory English as a result of their marks on the English composition test. Interestingly enough, these 450 students were evenly divided among those with high and low high school averages. A list composed of students whose high school averages were below 80 was sent to faculty counselors who advised these students to take compensatory courses (regular college credit but two additional class hours a week). This advising took place over the summer.

The following year students with high school averages below 80 were automatically assigned to compensatory courses. However, the director of the Department of Educational Services, the body which has responsibility for all compensatory and remedial work, notes that "counseling is not compulsory; it depends on a student's need." Only if they objected to a faculty counselor could the students be reassigned. Thus the initiative fell to the student. The result was a larger number of students took compensatory courses because, according to one administrator, "most students were too busy to fight it." The same method was applied to the entering class of Fall 1972, though a new math placement had been developed.

Students with averages below 80 were asked to attend basic skills workshops in the summer. Those with high school averages above 80 but who are in need of compensatory English or math are also urged to take these workshops.

Before students register for courses they receive counseling from volunteer upperclassmen (dubbed "orientation assistants") who have been trained by the Director of Admissions and volunteer faculty counselors. The entering freshmen have been asked the last two years via questionnaire to evaluate this system. As a result some changes in the way registration is administered have been made.

Again like Hunter, Brooklyn College makes a distinction between remedial and compensatory work. The distinction, as one professor noted, is made to avoid the use of the term "remedial," which implies a linear development. "You can't take this until you've taken that." The freshman English program in its approach to compensatory work makes no distinction between writing and reading. Rather it tries to integrate a student's experience with a mode of thought, being able to draw generalizations from an observation. Compensatory English is a three semester course. It meets four hours a week with two conference periods for writing. The instructors are hired jointly by the English department and the Department of Educational Services.

The debate in the English department over open admissions mirrored the issues faced by other departments. Brooklyn College had a new president at the beginning of open admissions; there were many new instructors. The faculty was "panicked." One professor described the events thus:

> We pushed through the credit—no credit thing, realizing we couldn't flunk these students. We had to change the course, but we were afraid to get rid of the F. We needed it for moral purposes. The department passed the credit—no credit measure, but the students refused it. They wanted grades. So a system of A,B,C—no credit was used for freshman English. Passing freshman compensatory English fulfilled the requirement.

A tutoring program, staffed by undergraduate volunteers, accompanied the freshman English program. The program is noteworthy in one product it produced: a manual for student tutors. Each tutor was asked to keep a diary of his or her work with the tutee. At the end of the term the tutor wrote a paper evaluating that period's work. Some of the most instructive and insightful diaries were compiled into "A Handbook for Writing Tutors." Some excerpts are instructive.

> To help him get over this lack of confidence, I used a different method in analyzing the second paper. There were no marks on it which I had made previously. Instead, I would point out what was wrong and then ask him either what would sound better or what he really meant to say. This I took down and inserted word for word. George seemed happy that his own words sounded so good on paper. I encouraged him to say what he wanted to say and not try to say what sounded good. Whenever there was a good idea I praised it.

> Also, I insisted that on any point which he disagreed to say so. He did this and we either compromised, or he finally understood what I meant. (Months later I realized the naivete of this statement: I was often overbearing and to the end George could not resist writing down my suggestions even though he disagreed because he was convinced that any of my words and phrases were better than his.)
>
> What is its relevance? (I neglected to notice that I was developing a dependency in George for these questions which he could not, in reality, ask himself.) In my case, the relationship had to be a friendly one rather than an impersonal one. I was dealing with psychological factors much more than mechanics. I think writing is such a personal thing, so much of an expression of self that the person who tries to help you has to make an attempt to understand you as well as (or as part of) the way you write. I really felt this when I showed George my own last paper and explained what a mock heroic was. Then asked him for his opinion of the paper and he was very flattered. Later, in his own paper, he used the word heroic ("Some people in my situation would have tried to be heroic") in an effective way. Thus, he absorbed something when he was most comfortable, when there was no pressure to learn it and when he was in a situation in which he felt flattered. After all that talk about different standards of improvement, judging a student on his own level, etc., the whole thing about the tutor instilling confidence, it must be brought up that unless the student's teacher is at least halfway in accord with you, your efforts are defeated.[37]

The Department of Educational Services oversees all compensatory and remedial programs at Brooklyn College. DES includes the Adult Learning Center, SEEK, College Discovery, Educational Opportunity Program, 100 Scholars, and Outreach, "open admissions students" (some 3,000 in the department, defined by compensatory needs and high school average), and the Demonstration Project to Affect Bidialectalism in Users of Non-Standard Dialects of English. In short, DES is an umbrella agency for most compensatory and ethnic programs. All counseling for "open admissions students" is done under DES. A draft of the 1971–72 handbook for the department cites the duties and responsibilities of the counselor:

> A. **Academic:** to assist the student in as many ways as possible to survive and succeed academically at Brooklyn College by:
>
> 1) Well-informed guidance in the selection of the student's program of studies
> 2) Guidance during registration
> 3) Providing pre-professional and vocational guidance
> 4) Staying abreast of college regulations and curriculum changes
> 5) Becoming continuously aware of and effectively utilizing Brooklyn College resources as well as community resources (Foundation Funds, Scholarships, Special Grant Funds) in behalf of the student
> 6) Becoming involved with instructors and tutors as these relate the progress or the lack of progress of the student

B. **Financial:** to assist the student in obtaining maximum financial aid through:
   1) Cooperative development of a budget that accurately reflects his needs and cooperative development of a program of personal financial management that reflects skillful use of personal and familial resources and available financial assistance
   2) Keeping him informed of all available funds both within the City University and outside it, e.g. Model Cities Scholarships, Foundation Grants, Special Programs

C. **Personal:** to relate to the total student in helping him evaluate himself, resolve his problems, attain his goals and growth

D. **Political:** to act as advocate or "broker" in behalf of the student, to help the student gain awareness of the political realities of life in America, in the New York urban community at large and as it relates to the University, to assist the student in all systems that concern and affect him, to encourage the students' involvement in those extra-curricular activities on-and-off campus which are relevant to him and his life goals[38]

The compensatory courses offered by DES, those for credit, are developed in conjunction with the other departments of the college, as in the case of the English department. Compensatory courses are offered in the humanities, the social sciences, languages and the sciences. In addition non-credit bearing courses in English as a Second Language and mathematics are offered.

The structure is ponderous, made more difficult with an appalling lack of coordination in data collection. Complaints over the lack of information and data are heard in all corners of the college. It seems to be a classic case of the right hand not knowing what the left foot is doing. But throughout there is a sense that something significant is happening to the college, that somehow Brooklyn College will never quite be the same. As one English teacher noted:

> We've learned a lot in two years; how far ahead we are of the experts. A couple of years of open admissions has enlightened a number of people—radicalized them, but that's too scary a word. There are tremendous difficulties with attendance, veterans' problems, legal problems, rent strikes. We're getting closer to the life pattern of poverty, which is wrapped up in a maze of bureaucratic crap. You see yourself as an agent of the state. You represent that system. Teacher in New York City Public schools means warden. And you try to break out of your role.

Queens College

Founded shortly after Brooklyn College, Queens College shares much of that school's characteristics. Both are the comparative academic jewels of City University. Both have very heavy Jewish enrollments. Both have small numbers of minority students, most of whom are enrolled through the SEEK Program. Black and Puerto Rican students comprised a microscopic 7.7 per cent and 1.1 per cent of the Fall 1969 freshman class. These percentages were only minimally improved in 1970 under open admissions (8.1 per cent and 1.4 per cent). The figures for 1971 are somewhat better but still very small (11.2 per cent and 2.1 per cent).[39] Less than 5 per cent of the 1970 freshman class were enrolled with high school averages below 70.

The college's open admissions task force initially recommended the creation of a study skills center, however the administration rejected such a centralization of compensatory services and each department became responsible for providing aid to underprepared students. Each department is allocated a budget from a formula designed to meet their various needs. This budget, used largely for tutoring except in the case of English remediation, was to provide the departments with the resources necessary for compensatory services. Remedial courses were offered in English (reading and writing) for credit on a sliding scale. A variety of means was used for determining the appropriate beginning courses for students in their undergraduate studies.

Placement in the English sequence of three basic courses was determined by students' performance on the Vocabulary and Mechanics of Expression sections of the Cooperative English Test, Form 1A, and on an essay. A student needed to succeed on both the objective test and writing sample in order to have the first course in the sequence waived. Those with exceptional writing ability as demonstrated on the writing sample were placed in the third course.

Approximately 35 per cent of the 1970 freshman class was assigned to the first English course, 63 per cent to the second and 2 per cent to the third. The class which entered in February 1971 placed 40 per cent in the first sequence, 59 per cent in the second, and 1 per cent in the third.[40]

Recommendations to individual students to enroll in the remedial reading courses were based upon a combination of factors. Performances on a reading test, high school average, SAT scores, high school academic units, high school achievement, and expressed need for help in reading were all considered in recommending enrollment in reading. If a student entering in September had an average below 80, a reading test score below the 21st percentile, SAT verbal score below 400, limited academic units, of low high school achievement in English and/or social studies, he or she was urged to register for reading. The student was invited to discuss this recommendation. One report notes that, using these composite criteria, about 10 per cent of the freshman class in Fall 1970 were recommended to take a reading course, about 15 per cent of the entering class in February 1971.[41] However, a second report indicates that about 600 students, or 20 per cent, needed "some assistance in developing reading skills."[42]

The tutoring program is coordinated by the Director of Studies on a college wide basis. He maintains a working relationship with the academic departments of the college through tutoring coordinators designated by the chairmen of the departments. The tutoring coordinator selects tutors in his department, assigns to them students who need tutoring and provides supervision as needed. Students who need tutoring are referred to the tutoring coordinator by instructors in that department. Any instructor can refer students who are having difficulty in courses to the tutoring coordinator in his department. Any instructor or student who is unable to get tutoring service through normal channels is told to contact the Office of the Director of Studies.

Tutors are rewarded financially or with credit. Money for tutoring is appropriated by the College Budget Committee and is administered by the Office of the Director of Studies. The Office allocates funds to departments to be dispersed at their best discretion. The formula is flexible, based on use criterion and availability of funds. Undergraduate tutors are paid $3.05 an hour, graduate tutors, $4.05 an hour. Orientation sessions are provided for the tutors. A series of mini-workshops provide information and some reading and study skills instruction for tutors.

A handbook outlines the implementation of this system.

Office of the Director of Studies:

1. Informs departments about financial budget for tutoring
2. Requests name of designated department tutoring coordinator
3. Provides information to tutoring coordinator for recruiting and scheduling tutors
4. Plans briefing and orientation schedules for tutoring coordinators
5. Plans and conducts initial orientation and mini-workshops for tutors

Each department through its tutoring coordinator:

1. Determines the number of tutors and tutees it can support with allocated funds
2. Selects tutors and assigns tutoring responsibilities
3. Establishes guidelines for tutoring specific subject matter
4. Supervises and verifies the keeping of records
5. Signs and forwards records to the Office of the Director of Studies in time to meet payroll deadlines
6. Provides specialized tutoring guidance for tutors as needed

Counseling at Queens College has undergone a number of recent organizational changes, partially due to a change in the college's administration. Queens College has had what one administrator calls a "wholesale" system of counseling. Students are simply assigned to a faculty member. This worked very badly, particularly for what Queens calls "the open admissions student" i.e. those with high school averages below 80. Professors often would not keep their office hours, and students would not appear for their appointments. A second system, the "cafeteria" method, has also been used. A group of advisors would be placed in an office (much like the Office of Academic Advising at Hunter College), and students would come in when they wanted to. The director of academic advising has strong negative feelings about both of these systems; he implemented an alternative plan with the beginning of open admissions. Two hundred faculty members were to be recruited, (in fact only 160 were organized) and each faculty member would counsel 15 students, seeing them through registration and during the academic year, particularly if a student was having difficulty. Advisors were paid for their efforts. One advantage of the system was that students unfamiliar with a strange campus would have a friend on the faculty. The director somewhat bitterly described the fall of the program.

> After the first year it was doomed. The program's upward movement was at its peak during the first semester. Workshops were held among faculty members; there was an excitement over working with these kids. But the change in administration took the starch out of everyone. A wholesale system was started this year. In the Fall advisement will return to the Dean of Students office. I have no idea what they plan to do next year.

Queens College had compiled data on achievement of "open admissions students" that is encouraging, though somewhat misleading. For example, the data indicate that of 3,787 students accepted to Queens College in Fall 1970, 1058 or 27.9 per cent were from "Queens County predominantly minority group high schools,"[43] implying that 27.9 per cent of that freshman class were minority students. The real figure is of course much lower, 9.5 per ecent or 11.6 per cent. (CUNY Ethnic Census shows two figures.) Attrition, as the table below shows, was not alarming the first year.

OPEN ADMISSIONS PROGRAM ATTRITION STATISTICS— FALL 1970 THROUGH FALL 1971

Queens College*

	High School Average:			
Semester	Below 69	70-74	75-79	Total
Fall 1970	8	57	487	552
Spring 1971	6	52	452	510
Fall 1971	3	42	395	440
Total Attrition	5	15	92	112

	High School Average:			
Semester	Below 69	70-74	75-79	Total
Fall 1970- Spring 1971	25%	8.8%	7.2%	7.6%
Spring 1971- Fall 1971	50	19.2	12.6	13.7
Total Attrition Fall 1970-Fall 1971	62.5%	26.3%	18.9%	20.3%

* Source: Open Admissions at Queens College op cit, Table 5

The report cites a number of achievements statistics.

OPEN ADMISSIONS FRESHMEN, FALL 1970
REAL ACHIEVEMENT

1.	Withdrew before Spring '71 semester (Average first semester attrition in Open Admissions students = 4.9%)	42	(7.6%)
2.	Less than 1.65* after Spring '71 semester (i.e. after completion of two semesters)	174	(31.6%)
3.	Between 1.65 and 1.75 (Sophomore retention average)	25	
4.	1.65 or better based on completion of 75% or more of course work attempted.	275	(50.3%)
5.	1.65 or better but having withdrawn from more than 25% of the credits attempted	56	(10.2%)
6.	Total 1.65 or better	331	(60.5%)
7.	Between C and B (2.0-2.99) based on completion of 75% or more of the credits attempted.	197	(36%)
8.	B or better (75% or more completion)	19	(3.5%)
9.	Average credit load attempted for both semesters (based on 545 students)	24.8	
10.	Total of 1,2,6 equals total number of Open Admissions Students in survey	547	
11.	Registered for fall, 1971 semester	479	

* Retention average for freshmen.

> One statistic worth noting is that more than half of those students who earned averages below 1.6 had respectable high school averages, between 77 and 79. Nearly one third of entering freshmen with such averages earned averages below 1.6, indicating that by no means is the need for assistance in college level work limited to those with low high school averages, as CUNY's level A/level B distinction suggests.

The conclusion drawn by the college regarding data on the whole is a rather optimistic one.

> Open Admissions freshmen (i.e. those with entering high school averages below 80), sitting in the same classes with other students and in no way distinguishable from other freshmen, were able to achieve a record that many observers would have regarded as impossible in a school like Queens whose usual admission average was about 83 (and often higher). Over half of the freshmen, carrying solid schedules, attained an average substantially above the minimum required for retention. An additional 10 per cent, completing reduced schedules, also reached or exceeded the minimum.

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

John Jay College of Criminal Justice, located in mid-Manhattan was established as a senior college in 1965 and includes as students many members of criminal justice agencies in New York City. It provides continuing education for hundreds of New York City police. Although John Jay specializes in criminal justice, its basic academic curriculum parallels that of the other colleges. The introduction of ethnic studies, social sciences and graduate programs has significantly broadened the scope of the curriculum. The college is housed on four floors of a twenty-five story office building. There is no gym. There is no auditorium. There is one lounge. The largest room holds 90 people. The library is in the basement of the building. There is a full ten minute wait for the elevators during class breaks. In the Fall of 1969 a total of 1,016 day session undergraduates were enrolled at John Jay; in the Fall of 1971 1,047 *freshmen* alone were enrolled: there were 4,107 undergraduates that Fall. The space situation at the school is abominable. One administrator notes the desperateness of the problem:

> The students are jammed in here. Some kids see it as an extension of high school. That's the reason some kids drop out; it's not intellectually exciting. All this has an impact, expecially given the type of student we have here.

Open admissions has had a traumatic effect on John Jay. The school is a poignant example of a number of dedicated people working under severe monetary and staff shortages. The college was allocated a disproportionately large number of students with low high school averages. The faculty is divided over open admissions, though significant efforts have been made in compensatory English instruction and in a sensitive counseling program.

John Jay has centered its compensatory instructional efforts in the Communication Skills department. The academic departments are expected to refer students in need of assistance to CS; they have no direct responsibility for compensatory efforts. Early warning referrals are made as a result of quizzes instructors are asked to give after the first three weeks of class, though not all teachers have responded to this test.

The Communication Skills department offers a course in English as a second language, which began with open admissions at John Jay. The department also offers a speech course and two sequences of compensatory aid in reading, writing and study skills. The first course is designed for students who need a great deal of work in the area of reading. A major emphasis is placed on reading comprehension, vocabulary and the development of concentration skills. The second course is designed for students who have little difficulty in reading itself but encounter a great deal of difficulty in their study habits—reviewing, skimming, scanning, summarization, outlining, organization, note taking and proper use of the library facilities are stressed. Both courses carry only one credit, which many students complain about. The courses are offered in three sizes: small (10–15), medium (20) and large (30–35). The faculty of five is grossly overworked, serving 500 students. The department is hoping to add a third sequence which would work on developing students' writing skills. CS faculty are also working to get two credits approved for their courses. In detail, C.S.101 (the first course) involves instruction in the following areas, with initial, midpoint and final evaluation of reading skills made by formal testing.

1. Vocabulary—general and technical
2. Phrase, sentence, and paragraph comprehension
3. Word attack skills—phonic and structural analysis
4. SQ3R—study method
5. Study habits—self-evaluation inventory
6. Improving reading rate and flexibility
7. Locating main ideas in selection of various lengths
8. Note taking and outlining from textbooks and lectures
9. Use of library resources
10. Use of dictionary and thesaurus

Materials used include:

1. Class text "Breaking the Reading Barrier" Gilbert
2. Suggested—student copy of pocket dictionary and thesaurus
3. Ancillary material used in class:
    a. Control Reader—at appropriate level and Tach X
    b. "Reading for Understanding"—Junior and Senior
    c. Selections from "Efficient Reading," Glock
    d. Selections from "Improving College Reading," Glock
    e. "SQ3R" practice material by R. Strong

Objectives of the course are:

1. To develop student's proficiency in reading (vocabulary and comprehension) and in use of study skills
2. To enable students to assess their own reading needs and assess progress in improving reading skills
3. To promote positive student attitudes toward reading
4. To prepare students to perform independently in reading lab and library.

Students are placed in Communication Skills courses with the use of a writing sample and a reading test. Those who show a need for CS101 must enroll in the course; those who place in the level of CS102 are urged to enroll, though it is not mandatory.

A new program called Thematic Studies is starting under a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. Eight instructors will be teaching together around an interdisciplinary program. Students may register in Thematic Studies for fifteen credits or less, as many as they feel capable of handling. CS faculty hopes this experience will be helpful in dealing with the new population of students under open admissions.

A tutoring program was formalized at John Jay with the coming of open admissions. A graduate student and a Communications Skills instructor meet with tutors weekly or bi-weekly to discuss progress and problems of the tutors. There is some feeling that "a little featherbedding" exists in the program.

The instructors in Communication Skills feel a definite status of "second-class citizenship." Instructors feel that much more remediation should be done on a college-wide level, that professors in the academic departments should not depend solely on referring their students to the Communication Skills department or the tutoring program. One CS instructor noted that "there's a difference in the way teachers teach open admissions students. Some feel they are doing some remediation in their courses; others lecture as if they were at Oxford." She continued to describe evolution in the department:

> In the beginning CS101 was the only level available for students with abilities from 6th grade to 12th grade. It was very difficult for some students whose problems weren't as great to be lumped into the same class with very slow readers. The second-level course was created the second year. CS101 students are generally Puerto Rican; 102 students are generally in need of study skills. Last year students were both interviewed and tested before they were placed in a CS course. We tried to determine whether or not the student wanted the course. This year there is no money for interviewing, and kids will be placed solely on test achievement. This is maybe 80 per cent effective.

Another instructor described her class experience.

> Communication Skills is a two semester course. After one semester though, it's difficult to follow up what happens to the student. Failure in CS101 means taking it again. Very often that will be from a language problem with the Spanish-speaking. But it is fairly rare to fail. We don't tell the students they're in a remedial course. There are often great advances in a student, if you can locate the problem, the student's own thought that blocks his reading, for example.

The Department of Counseling and Student Life at John Jay provides services in counseling, financial aid and placement. The staff in the counseling division tripled with the beginning of open admissions. While there were eight or ten counselors before open admissions, there are now about 24, ten of whom (along with three graduate student interns) teach half-time and counsel. In recruiting counselors the department tried to emphasize hiring women and minority group members, people capable of working with students from such an urban environment. Six women and three Blacks were hired. There is one Puerto Rican counselor in SEEK, the rest are Black. The department was unsuccessful, largely because of the requirement of a PhD in recruiting Puerto Ricans.

In 70–71 a number of counseling seminars were held where counselors were asked what areas they felt were problem areas. Drugs, sex, future plans, abortion and birth control were areas many students concerned themselves about. The seminars were "relatively well attended." In the Spring of 1971, 90 of the 300 incoming freshmen were placed in a counseling colloquium. Twenty to thirty students volunteered, 30 were SEEK students, and 30 were counseled into it. The colloquium meets once a week with a counselor from the department, and is offered for two credits. The course was offered to aid students in adjusting to college work and life. There was a diversity in the way the five counselors conducted their sections. Some ran it as an information kind of course, others concentrated more on the inter-personal relationships among the students, much like a T-group. The department hoped to be able to offer the course to 40 per cent of the Fall 1971 incoming freshmen, though funds are very limited. The retention rate of students who took the course seemed to have been greater than those who did not. The counseling department has tried a number of small innovations to aid its service to the students. A "Snoopy Booth" was set up in the student lounge with a sign saying "psychiatric help 5 cents." A counselor or intern staffed the booth during busy hours so that students could come and rap. Also, "quickie counseling" was tried, where a counselor could always be in the office, and students would not need to make an appointment to get help; they simply lined up for it. It was found, however, that the students needed to be screened before coming in to prevent students in need of lengthy sessions from clogging the flow of students with brief questions.

In September 1971 the department began a program designed to identify and aid students in academic difficulty. The 1970 freshman class was selected as the target population for the program and 218 of the 623 students remaining in this class were identified as being "in academic difficulty." Each of these students was asked to confer with a counselor and 88, or 40 per cent, did. In their conferences with these students, counselors found that family problems, lack of college motivation and heavy job demands were the most frequently expressed reasons for academic difficulty. A tabulation of some of the responses is below.

Problem—Difficulty*	Number of Situations Reported
Family problems (usually worded "doesn't get along with ______")	16
School motivation adjustment-study problems ("I keep putting it off." "I don't know why I'm in school.")	16
Job demands (Student has to work 30 hrs. per week. "Change in shift or assignment makes school or work difficult.")	12
Illness—Injury—Operations	8
Language Problems—Foreign Speaking Students	8
Personal Problems (not disclosed)	6
Reading Problems	4
Military Service Responsibilities ("Called to duty by National Guard, mid-semester.")	3
Intellectual Inadequacy ("Student just doesn't seem capable of college work.")	3
Psychological Disturbance—Crisis	1

* Source: John Jay Department of Counseling and Student Life

Most students were referred to tutoring and CS courses, several were encouraged to drop courses in order to reconcile school and job demands and almost half of the 88 were assigned to counselors for ongoing support. Of the 218 students in difficulty, considerably fewer of those who were counseled (14 per cent as compared to 28 per cent), dropped from the college during the 1971–72 academic year.

In November 1971 the college sent letters to 570 of the 1970 freshmen who had dropped out asking why and whether they would be interested in returning. Below are the results of the letter questionnaire.

126 of the 180 students who responded were working:
  63 were employed in police work (N.Y.C.P.D., Housing and Transit Police); and
  63 were employed in other occupations.
  16 of the 180 respondents were in military service.
  13 of the 180 respondents were attending other schools.
  133 of the 180 students who responded expressed the desire to resume their studies at John Jay. These students were contacted by mail (Appendix B) and informed when their registration session for the Spring 1972 semester was being conducted. A check of registration records for the Spring 1972 semester indicates that 25 or 19 per cent of the 133 students who said they were interested in returning to John Jay did in fact return.[44]

One counselor felt the results of the call back effort could have been better:

> 25 students came back as a result of that follow-up letter. We would have done much better if we had sent two letters, or made two phone calls.

At no school does the staff more eloquently state the frailty of CUNY's open admissions program. Eighty per cent of John Jay's students work as well as attend school. The faculty divisions are great at the college. One counselor said that the "basic faculty posture is coping. Some professors just tell themselves not to worry about overcrowded classrooms; in a few weeks the students will stop coming, because the teacher won't have changed any to fit the students' level of understanding." A few of the counseling staff see a real possibility of the department bringing about a measure of change in the whole college:

> I'd like to see counseling play a major role in institutional change. We've talked a lot to students, saying cope, cope, cope, but we haven't even been holding up the mirror we should to the institution. We are a kind of built in interest group. We do know about students' problems, but what are we doing about it. We're diffusing them.
>
> Open admissions was more a political decision than a humanistic decision. I really don't think we're giving illiterates a chance. We try to create a realistic life situation in which a kid can grow up and gain some experience. A job is one way to do that, so is art achievement, maybe. No one will stay around for a year or two of drudgery. Maybe the rapture of being in college wasn't as big a factor as we thought. The carrot is the career.
>
> The NYU doctoral program in counseling gives six credits for sitting in Harlem to find out how people feel, and we call it remedial to learn reading and writing. It's obvious where the emphasis lies. We need to move toward a more experiential thing, where the kid does what he feels he can do.
>
> I just hope we don't settle into a very comfortable posture of saying, "Well, we can expect to lose a number of students."

One administrator voiced his deep concern over the fate of open admissions.

> If a commitment isn't made to open admissions, and it isn't being made now, then very soon it will become a revolving door at CUNY, with those who normally attend college going anyway, and the poorer kids getting spat out after a year of failure. Kids with the ability are just not given the opportunity to succeed when they're thrust into college level competitive work without the preparation. They just can't hack it, and this reinforces their poor self-images these kids have—one more failure. Open admissions is a promise in this city to breaking the poverty cycle, but it's not being realized.
>
> We tend to soothe our consciences by patting ourselves on the back, by glorifying our efforts, but the commitment just isn't there. It was lacking in the beginning among a number of CUNY faculty. It has picked up, but a large core remain dissatisfied. I think in a year and a half or so, they will revolt, saying "look, this just isn't working."

York College

York College was founded in 1966 as "an experimental urban college to combine the liberal arts and science traditions with community related programs." Located in the Jamaica section of Queens, the college is seeking to engage in cooperative efforts with neighboring community groups to provide needed educational services and programs. In 1971 the college moved into the first building of its new campus. It had been sharing the Bayside campus of Queensborough Community College. The college has been flooded with open admissions freshmen. Where in 1969 only 656 of its day session undergraduates were freshmen, in 1971 1,565 more than half of the college's total undergraduate population, were freshmen.[45] There has been an upward movement in ethnic enrollment at York under open admissions, though as one administrator notes:

> One reason for open admissions was to get a better ethnic mix, but this hasn't happened according to some levels of expectations.

Fifty per cent of York's freshmen matriculate from parochial schools. Some administrators are particularly dissatisfied with the "fiscal gymnastics" of FTE funding formulae and the city-state funding relationship, noting that large numbers of their students (more than 200) are not provided funds under FTE allocations.

The college organized itself "fairly well" for open admissions; a remedial course in reading was offered, meeting three hours a week for no credit in the first sequence, and four hours per week for 1½ credits in the second sequence. Both remedial and compensatory writing and math classes are offered.

The reading course, which is a basic component of compensatory work in the humanities and social sciences, has had a problem with low attendance and low student motivation. The instructor bears the responsibility for stimulating motivation. Attendance was required only for the remedial course, though this broke down because some instructors did not take attendance.

A mandatory course, meeting once a week for one credit, was established by the counseling department. The first year saw the creation of "critical issue seminars," which addressed personal and cognitive development of the students. About 75 per cent of the students attended. In Fall 1972 these courses will become electives, though the counseling staff hopes that "the typical level B student may be persuaded to take it." Under open admissions York had built up a counseling staff of 21 which shrank to 17 in February, 1972. The freshman counseling ratio is 1 to 175. This may be termed slightly higher than is desirable. If the staff continued to shrink, counseling may be provided only for incoming students with averages below 80.

The view of one administrator provides an insight into the possible future role of senior colleges under open admissions:

> A lot of people view the senior college with an air of superiority, that they're training future PhD's in Sanskrit and English madrigals. But that isn't happening. As society makes its demands for greater numbers of technicians, more and more BA graduates will dead end there and enter career positions as para-professionals, teachers, etc. More and more the four year colleges will be offering career programs, and the distinction between senior colleges and community colleges will blur. Many students are in AA programs in the community colleges which carry them to the senior colleges anyway.

Bernard M. Baruch College

Baruch College was established as a senior college in 1968, having formerly been the Baruch School of Business and Public Administration of the City College. While its academic focus continues to be in the business and undergraduate level, the college offers undergraduate liberal arts and science programs which complement business and administrative studies. The school is located in mid-Manhattan, though plans are being developed for a new campus in Brooklyn.

There is a feeling among some faculty, particularly those associated with the Department of Compensatory Skills, that Baruch receives a disproportionate share of underprepared students largely because it is a new school. Of 1,500 entering freshmen in 1970, 1,000 took at least one remedial course; 600 took the reading sequence. In 1971, 725 of 1,600 entrants took reading alone.

A Committee on Open Enrollment made a number of plans to accommodate the incoming classes, including determinations of additional faculty and space needs. It was estimated that with traditional student-teacher ratios and an anticipated class of 600 more freshmen than before open admissions, about 42 teachers should be added. However, the Committee's report noted that because of the compensatory needs of most of these additional students, more faculty would need to be hired than with a "regular" population of freshmen. The table shows the estimated additional faculty needed. The three populations cited (A,B,C) refer roughly to regular, level A and level B categories.

PERSONNEL NEEDED TO SERVE 600 ADDITIONAL STUDENTS VARIATIONS BY POPULATION GROUPS[a]

	If 600 Students are in Pop. A	If 600 Students are in Pop. B	If 600 Students are in Pop. C
1. **Faculty**			
(a) Reg. Teaching	40	18	6
(b) Reg. Teaching—Remedial	0	33	51
Sub-total Reg. Faculty	40	51	57
(c) Counselors*	4	12	20
(d) Tutors**	30	165	255
2. **Clerical Help**			
(a) Reg. Faculty	8	10	11
(b) Counselors	1	4	4
(c) Tutors	1	5	10

[a] Source: Baruch College, Plans and Procedures for Dealing with Open Enrollment, Sep. 1970 p. 10.

* See remediation report, section on counseling (see Ed. Dept. report).

** Number of tutors required is based on a minimum of 3 hours per week per student in at least two subjects (a total of 6 hours). Hence, each tutorial student will need 180 hours 1:1 tutoring during a 30 week academic year. Cost per hour approximately $4.00.

Pop. A: It is assumed that 5% of the 600 will need 1:1 assistance (5400 hours of tutoring for 30 students).

Pop. B: 50% of the remedial group will require 1:1 assistance (29,700 hours of 1:1 work for 165 students).

Pop. C: 50% of the entire group will need 1:1 tutoring (54,000 hours of tutoring for 255 students).

The report estimated that of an expected 625 "open enrollment" students, 225 would fall into population B and 400 into population C, requiring 38 per cent and 66 per cent of the additional staff specified in the table. These estimated needs are tabulated in the following table.

Space at Baruch, as may be expected, was in immediate need of augmentation. Prior to open admissions the school's faculty has been utilizing space on a basis well below requirements of 120 square feet per instructor. Not only were faculty members sharing offices, but desks as well. The space for supportive services such as counseling and tutoring was also dreadfully low. Classroom space was

PERSONNEL DIRECTLY RELATED TO CLASSROOM TEACHING ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ADDED STAFF MEMBERS REQUIRED TO HANDLE ENTERING STUDENTS BY CATEGORY DISTRIBUTED AMONG POPULATION GROUPS AS SPECIFIED AND TOTALS[a]

	600 Students in Pop. A	225 Students in Pop. B	400 Students in Pop. C	Total
1. Faculty				
(a) Reg. Teaching	0	6.75	4.00	10.75
(b) Reg. Teaching—Remedial	0	12.37	34.00	46.37
Sub-total Reg. Faculty	0	19.12	38.00	57.12
(c) Counselors	0	4.50	13.33	17.83
(d) Tutors*	0	67.50*	200.00*	267.50*
2. Clerical Help For:				
(a) Reg. Faculty	0	3.75	7.33	11.08
(b) Counselors	0	1.50	2.66	4.16
(c) Tutors	0	1.87	6.66	8.53
Sub-total—Clerical	0	7.12	16.65	23.77

[a] Source: loc. cit.

* Tutor is estimated to devote 6 hours per week. Figures are not FTE.

also needed, and conditions in Baruch's current facilities are not optimal; elevators were overcrowded; room in the halls was negligible between classes. The college mounted a search for additional rented facilities. In seeking these facilities several factors were considered. The varying of classroom size for differing needs was desired, as was proximity to the existing campus (one commute day was enough for students), adequate elevator service, expense, availability and size.

A number of procedures were used to serve the incoming open admissions freshmen. Baruch used the Stanford reading and math tests as "placement instruments." This was a misuse of the test's original function: to determine English and math remediation needs of the 1970 CUNY freshman class. A writing sample was also asked of Baruch's freshmen, and as a result of their achievement on these tests they were placed in "remedial or corrective classes" in one or all of the following: Reading, English composition, or mathematics.

Also, if students required extensive compensatory help, had financial needs and possibly needed personal counseling, they were assigned to a counselor. It was the counselor's responsibility to determine if the students were properly programmed, whether or not they required tutoring or they had received financial aid.

The Division of Student Personnel Services has trained student leaders who, along with faculty members, helped conduct orientation for freshmen.

The department also gives psychological counseling to those "open admissions students" referred by the Department of Compensatory Programs. A loan system was established to assist students who cannot purchase their own books.

Despite several concerns of the Committee on Open Enrollment, some of its recommendations were turned down by Baruch's policy committee.

> The open enrollment committee is aware of and sensitive to the very important fact that assigning students with low high school averages or college credit deficiencies to a particular department would, in large measure, leave them with a feeling of "second class citizen" status. (This attitude has been repeated to us by students and faculty in both SEEK and College Discovery Programs). It is the hope of the college administration and faculty that the remedial and compensatory education, including that of the SEEK students, will be rapidly incorporated (wherever feasible) into the mainstream of regular college courses.[46]

In opposition to this concern, "open admissions students," i.e. those with skills deficiencies, are all placed in the Department of Compensatory Programs. SEEK shares the department's resources, and is not particularly happy about it. Secondly, the committee recommended that remedial and compensatory courses be credit bearing. Except for the courses in "remedial and corrective English," some of which offer limited credit, no other compensatory courses are credit bearing. "While each student is assured full-time standing by virtue of being allotted at least twelve contact hours," one college report notes, "the number of actual credits taken ranges from three to fifteen," with about 9 credits the average.

Remedial reading instruction was provided on several levels, along with reading study labs which accompanied courses taken in the regular academic departments of the college. Governed by a philosophy that the soundest method to teach reading skills is a "holistic linguistic" one, the instructors work on developing speaking, listening and writing skills as they attempt to improve reading efficiency.

Freshmen are placed in writing courses by a determination of their proficiency made from the writing sample. Five composition courses are offered by the department. One bearing no credit, is a "purely remedial course at the prebaccalaureate level. The others are slower paced versions of the regular freshman composition course, and carry 2 credits, half the normal amount.

The English department is also experimenting with computer assisted instruction, which involves two classes on a voluntary basis. The program is controversial, its director being very optimistic in his outlook, and many students and some staff being highly critical "all the students complain; it's miserable." Others have complained about Computer Assisted Instruction in English. One user notes that sometimes students must come away after using a CAI method with an attitude of disgust and frustration, citing one incident at Baruch:

> Do not use more than ________ negative(s) in a clause . . .
> Student answers: one
> Computer answers: No, try again.
> Student answers: two
> Computer answers: No, the right answer is one.

"This is not what you do to an open admissions student," she said. "Their frustration levels are low enough anyway."

Three levels of compensatory mathematics are provided. The Math department felt the best placement indicator was the number of high school math units taken. Elementary and intermediate algebra and plane geometry are offered. None bear any credit.

Tutorial assistance is provided in mathematics. The tutors are programmed directly into the classes with the students. In some instances, intructors have broken their classes into small groups, some of which are taught by the tutors. The tutors are paid out of the SEEK budget. This is rationalized with in-kind tutorial assistance provided to SEEK through a corporation's volunteers. These assistants from the Celanese Corporation also staff some of the study labs and provide individual tutoring.

As at John Jay, there is significant faculty dissension over open admissions. Some tension exists with the SEEK Program because of its formal affiliation with "open enrollment services" in the Department of Compensatory Programs. There is also some dissatisfaction with lumping "open admissions students" into a department with a second-class stigma attached to it. The open admission program at Baruch is in flux.

Herbert Lehman College

Lehman College became an independent unit within the City University in 1968. Prior to that time, it was a branch of Hunter College. The College offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, including preparation for teaching. Lehman, located in the mid-Bronx, has grown tremendously under open admissions. In Fall 1969 total enrollment was 5,428; after open admissions in Fall 1970 it was 6,594, and a year later it totalled 8,310. The last freshman class before open admissions was 1,050; they are now twice that.

The counseling staff at Lehman was doubled from 17 to 34 to accommodate the additional student load under open admissions. All counseling services come under the umbrella of the Office of the Dean of Students. A number of procedures were implemented to help enroll this new population of freshmen. In the summer of 1970 the first open admissions class was invited to attend one day "conferences." This consisted of administering placement tests, determining academic placement and course programming, registration and some orientation activities. Groups of 100 were handled daily for six weeks, and each freshman was "given as much undivided attention as was necessary to accomplish his official entry into the college."[47] This program was repeated in the summer of 1971.

Also initiated in the Fall of 1970 was a program of "cluster counseling" for incoming freshmen. This system, established to eliminate the confusion and frustration of entering freshmen who have had difficulty untangling bureaucratic complexities, "clustered" a number of counseling services in several offices. Thus, no matter which office a student might enter, he or she would find a staff trained to help in selective service, financial aid, academic counseling, vocation and career counseling, testing etc. This system during the Fall of 1971 considerably reduced, "according to impressionistic data," the frustrations of entering freshman.

During the first year of open admissions freshmen received academic counseling and college assistance on a self-referral or voluntary basis. The approach was inadequate for serving students "unaccustomed to a system which required the student to function without regular administrative feedback and monitoring," as one administrative report put it. Originally designed for those students in need of compensatory help, the "course" proved popular with "regular" students as well, who now may enroll in the colloquium. During Fall 1971 registration 650 students were placed in the one hour, non-credit course. Each colloquium consists of 15 freshmen a counselor from the Office of the Dean of Students, and often an upperclass student called a counseling assistant. Counseling assistants are upperclassmen who are chosen as good "role models" for open admissions freshmen or "successful" students who can be emulated. These "peer counselors" are trained through regular sessions with a faculty member. A continuous course of study includes topics such as counseling theory and techniques, vocational and career information, group discussion techniques, academic programming information, referral sources, etc. These counseling assistants are used for other purposes than the freshman colloquiums: college representatives to local high schools, placement test proctors and the like.

Class discussion in the colloquiums is spent on topics ranging from family problems to how to take an exam, drugs to sexuality. Each counselor is responsible for follow-up on students who are reportedly excessively absent from any class or need a particular college service. A college memo suggests guidelines for the class.

I. A readily accessible forum in which all types of college procedures and information may be easily understood by students. A forum to actively provide students with requisite information to successfully complete college demands
   A. Academic procedural problems
      1. Withdrawing from courses, deadlines, procedures 2. Withdrawal from school 3. Absences 4. Incomplete 5. Computation of G.P.A. 6. Curriculum requirements 7. Financial aid, vocational informational resources
   B. Registration procedures
   C. Extra-curricular activities
   D. Academic information
   E. Pertinent administrative policies

II. A forum for identifying student problems and concerns in a group counseling setting, particularily facilitating the students' transition from high school-dependence to college-independence
   A. Recognition of similar problems among students
   B. Confidence and competence-building function
   C. Role-model and attitude-influencing function
   D. Influence on study skills and habits
   E. Referral function

III. A means by which the College may account for the development and success of a segment of the Freshman Class, and a means by which the College may more effectively develop academic policy
   A. Class attendance
   B. Unofficial withdrawals
   C. Assessment of academic achievement variables

In addition to their duties as cluster counselors and in the freshman colloquium, counselors are expected to participate in orientation seminars and counselor's workshops, meeting two hours per week. These groups explore counseling techniques, group dynamics, how to make the most of a group, etc. The counselors are also provided with a manual detailing changes in policy and procedures that have occurred.

Lehman's administration of financial aid under open admissions mirrors the difficulty of allocating insufficient resources from a number of aid programs to more students than can be equitably served. About two-thirds of the money received comes from a composite of federal programs: National Defense Loans, Educational Opportunity Grants, Work-Study, etc. The remainder comes from the state. Out of 2,300 entering freshmen in 1971, 300 received grants, according to one administrative official. A typical juggling of aid programs to meet student need above the EOG limit of $1,000 per student would combine $800 from a grant, $400 from work/study, and $400 from a loan. There is a problem, however, in assigning work/study to students in need of compensatory aid. Assigning such students to jobs subtracts from dearly needed study time, and places another hardship on freshmen entering with skills deficiencies. Thus, Lehman made a policy of not assigning "open admissions freshmen" to a work program, leaving work/study grants for sophomores and upperclassmen.

Prior to open admissions the Student Government Association of Lehman operated a tutoring program which charged the student $1.50 for every session. It was clear from the beginning of open admissions, however, that such a system was not going to work for the new student population. The usual publicity was not eliciting a satisfactory response from these freshmen. Many students simply could not afford the fee. Entering freshmen were not being tutored.

To correct this, the Office of the Dean of Students, the Campus Association for Student Activities, the Lehman College Association and SEEK established a new tutoring program. The program made a heavy effort to publicize itself on campus; it offered free tutoring to any student who entered in Fall 1970. After two weeks 73 students were being tutored, 61 of which were identified as "open admission freshmen." By the end of the academic year, 247 students had been tutored, mostly on a regular basis (average: 10 sessions per student). One hundred and ninety-two of these students were freshmen, 121 of whom had averages below 80.[48] (Lehman enrolled 1,282 freshmen with averages below 80 in Fall 1971.)[49] The Fall 1971 entering class was requesting tutorial at a rate double that of the previous class. This increased demand suggested several modifications of the program.

1. Tutors should be provided with basic orientation sessions which include

attention to teaching techniques, emotional needs of students in the tutoring situation, and self-evaluation guidelines.

2. Tutors should have the option of either being paid for the tutoring responsibility or being awarded college credit for this practical and academic experience.

3. Tutoring facilities must be arranged on or adjacent to the campus. During peak class hours, all classrooms are in use, yet, the request for individual tutoring at all hours is sufficiently high to justify devoting some physical facility to this activity.

The 432 students who had received tutoring during the Fall 1971 semester were mailed a questionnaire concerning the program 58 per cent (249) returned the completed questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire from a college memo are cited below.

1. The results of the Questionnaire revealed that (1) most students learned about the Tutoring Program from the posters placed around the campus by CASA. The other sources of student awareness of the program are in order of importance (2) other students, (3) a counselor, (4) *Meridian*, (5) other (which was usually specified as faculty), (6) Freshman Colloquium, and (7) another tutor. It would seem that tutoring could be given more emphasis in the FCL sessions.
2. Once tutees registered with the office, 91 per cent contacted the tutor to whom they were assigned within 3 days. (61 per cent contacted their tutor in one day, 82 per cent contacted their tutor witin 2 days).
3. Ninety-three per cent (93 per cent) of the tutees received at least one hour of extra instruction within 5 days of registering with the program.
4. Seventy-five per cent (75 per cent) of those responding met with their tutors more than 4 times over the semester.
5. Sixty-three per cent (63 per cent) of the responses indicated that the tutees believed their tutors to be of above average—to superior competence. 29 per cent felt their tutors were of average competence.
6. Eighty-seven per cent (87 per cent) of the tutees felt tutoring had helped them gain a better understanding of the subject.
7. Only 15 per cent of the tutees reported they had earned an "F" or "J" in the course in which they received tutoring (in view of past studies the editor thinks this figure is too optimistic).
8. Although most students (58 per cent) felt that the amount of tutoring they received was sufficient, their responses to question 14 indicate that the unavailability of tutors often prevented them from receiving as much extra instruction as they would have desired.

Student suggestions to improve the program included 1) better tutor availability and preparation, 2) better tutor-teacher ties, 3) special tutoring for all students.

All remedial instruction at Lehman is organized under the Department of Academic Skills. DAS offers three levels of English remediation. The courses address topics from proper grammar and syntax to theme development in writing. Only the composition course carries credit. The other two, meeting four hours a week, carry no credit. Four math courses (elementary math and three math labs) offer no credit. Preliminary math offers one credit, meeting four hours a week; a second sequence of that course carries two credits. Elementary functions and analytic geometry carries full credit. All math courses need the permission of the DAS advisor as a prerequisite to enrolling. A science survey is offered, again for no credit. It is intended for "students who are planning to concentrate in either biology, chemistry or nursing and have not taken chemistry in high school." (College Bulletin). In addition DAS offers two study skills courses, both with no credit.

Lehman has compiled a number of statistics on attrition, average academic credit load and grade point average. However, the administrators contacted refused to release the data for publishing in this book, explaining that "it is the most easily misinterpreted information." This request is both honored and regretted here.

Medgar Evers College

Located in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, Medgar Evers College enrolled its first students in September, 1971. It is unique in offering both two-year career and transfer programs and a number of four-year baccalaureate programs in specific professional areas. In addition to providing degree programs, the College will emphasize adult and continuing education. Medgar Evers is concentrating on programs relating to urban needs with particular emphasis on the needs of its surrounding community. The college is working with community groups to provide needed educational programs. Medgar Evers is the only college in the City University system with a Community Council, however, its effectiveness is highly subject to question. The council is part of the Black caucus that lobbies each year for City University funding in Albany. Some of the college's staff have been critical of the Council's role, wanting it to be a more active one. One administrator noted that the Council has not taken an active part in program affairs; "I'm surprised they haven't asked more of us." Another expressed disappointment in their orientation. "They are very white." For six to ten years the Brooklyn community has been fighting for a senior college of their own. Rhody McCoy was pushing for the presidency of the college, though evidently 80th Street was not happy with that and appointed another candidate. Some bitterness remains in the community over this issue. Much tension still remains in the college after an incident with this president. He attempted to summarily fire twelve faculty members, all of whom reportedly had the support of the students. The Chancellor had to intervene in the matter to prevent a blow-up. Eleven of the twelve were reinstated, though there is little trust between the administration and the young faculty at the college. As one participant noted: "You don't need this sort of thing in a new school."

Since Medgar Evers opened its doors after the implementation of open admissions at CUNY, it is difficult to talk about the impact of open admissions on the school. However, a look at characteristics of the student body makes it very clear that the college was allocated a disproportionately large share of underprepared students. Half of the college's population, nearly all freshmen, have high school averages below 70; 93 per cent of its students have averages below 80; 76 per cent of its students are Black; only 10 per cent are white. Three quarters of the student body at the college live in Brooklyn. Many from that neighborhood are of Haitian descent.

Medgar Evers has taken a highly innovative approach in providing compensatory aid in communication skills to those students who need it. (As an indication of how overburdened the college is with underprepared students, all freshmen were required to take the compensatory sequence. The assumption was that all entering freshmen would need the help; about 30 students out of 600 were exempted. The innovation centered around a freshman CORE course and the Study Center, the office responsible for individual assistance, tutoring, and providing resources to the CORE faculty.

CORE is an interdisciplinary course conceived as an introduction "to the academic experience and to the humanistic uses of the intellect." It extends over a year and is the only course required of all freshmen. The course is built around the theme of THE CITY OF MAN AND MAN IN THE CITY. The aim of CORE is to teach interdisciplinary content through controlled language experiences and to teach communication in operation in the subject matter. Twenty-five different units of CORE were offered in 71–72, ranging from Afro-American Literature to the Psychology of the Oppressed, the Hispanic Experience through the City Through Television. Each unit is divided into four sections called modules. Each module meets four hours per week. Study workshops, also meeting four hours per week, complement the modules. In addition students are asked to attend a one hour sub-module (Core 101) which deals expressly with the specifics of adjustment to college. This is a total of nine hours per week; five credits are given for CORE. The unique principle of CORE is that "remediation" is not viewed as something separate from content instruction Language instruction in CORE is neither "adjunct" nor "additional," but "integral."

The instructional center of CORE is a group of four "contact teachers" drawn from a variety of disciplines, together with support staff. Each teacher is responsible for a separate module in the unit. At the end of the academic year, each student will have passed through each module in the chosen unit. Each teacher will have presented his or her module four times, each time to a different group of students with different levels of skill and experience. As the Study Center notes, there are several important considerations to the design of CORE:

> 1. Each module is in itself interdisciplinary, an introduction to life management through ideas, and not merely an introductory course in a particular academic discipline.
> 2. All modules in a Unit, and all Units within the course will incorporate the experience of students. This is our commitment to an experience-oriented approach to education.
> 3. All modules will bear constant reference to the theme of CORE: THE CITY OF MAN AND MAN IN THE CITY
> 4. The four modules constituting each Unit will be interrelated through a sub-theme. e.g., "Social & Personal Identity" and "Urban Survival."
> 5. All syllabi will deal explicitly with language concepts and language experience in relation to content materials.

The program was tested in the summer of 1971 under near ideal conditions. Two modules were taught, one with nine students and one with twelve students. Furthermore, the three teaching members in each class were present for all hours. This student-teacher ratio was in no way comparable to the ratio of the Fall, with 25 students per module where all of the teachers were not present for all hours.

Central to CORE instruction was an emphasis on using and understanding language as an effective means of communication. A number of goals were specified to stress this focus:

General Goals

1. Developing a language-conscious attitude and approach to life as a means to self-fulfillment and to participation in society as an active and constructive member.
2. Understanding the function of language as a means for ordering existence and as a tool for social change.
3. Developing the habit of critical thinking.

Specific Goals

*1. Acquiring confidence in reading

*2. Acquiring confidence in writing

*3. Expanding and enriching vocabulary with awareness of the nature of words as man's invention: tools, toys, and weapons

*4. Understanding words as symbols which may or may not correspond to reality

5. Learning that "reality" comprises both direct, objective experience and experience as pre-structured and pre-defined through culture

*6. Learning that language—grammar, style, etc.,—is only one element in the human interaction involved in communication

*7. Learning the value of selection and organization in both written and oral communication

8. Learning the concepts of audience and context as significant in effective communication

9. Learning the several varieties of usage and their relative appropriateness

*10. Distinguishing between denotation and connotation; fact and opinion; inference and judgment; scientific words and "loaded" words

11. Using generalizations judiciously; accumulating sufficient and relevant evidence and data

12. Appreciation and mastery of idiomatic usage and grammatical structure as conventions, necessary for effective social and professional functioning; learning the syntactic manipulation of English as a work-order language

*13. Learning to visualize when reading, to relate to "reality"

14. Learning to read with speed, depending on purpose and need

*15. Learning to read for the main idea and for detail, learning to skim for details and facts

16. Learning to read for the author's purpose, to be aware of bias
17. Learning to develop critical insight in reading
*18. Mastering a study method (SQ3R, or other)
*19. Mastering a note-taking technique
*20. Learning the effective use of a textbook, a dictionary, a reference work
*21. Understanding and practicing the art of rewriting
*22. Learning to appreciate and to use the library; acquisition of skill in research techniques
23. Gaining ability to listen critically: to a collocutor, a lecturer, a recitor of verse, a newscaster, a political or other propagandist, and advertiser

*Items starred are suggested for early placement within the University.

Intensive supervision of reading and writing was planned for the workshops, including detailed correcting and comments on papers by both the content and language teachers. Individualized review of a student's paper was seen as probably the best way to understand what the student is trying to say and to help him express it better. The CORE program stresses the use of language over grammar skills.

There were a number of difficulties in implementing the CORE program. One designer noted that "maybe five or six units were successful; the others were various degrees of failure." Many faculty members balked at or did not understand their new role as "language teacher." Many did not change their style to accommodate the skill levels of the students, continuing to lecture their material and race through readings. Many students were upset by the mid-semester changes in modules. There was insufficient use made of the Study Center, which kept "module files" detailing everyone's experiences and suggestions with CORE. Particularly guilty of underutilizing these resources were those who most needed to understand the language focus of the program and those who complained the most about "not being a language teacher." Study Center staff have compiled a list of the problems encountered with CORE.

1. A secretary for the coordinator did not arrive for about a month, making communication with faculty nearly impossible.
2. The structure of the program, with faculty "on loan" from the divisions, left unclear lines of authority and responsibility to the CORE program. Most faculty members felt that their primary loyalties were to their regular divisions, and responded weakly to CORE administrative requests.
3. Meeting time for faculty seminars was difficult to find. Club hours were the only time free for gatherings, and during these times the divisions and the president's stated meetings competed for faculty attendance. Moreover, since CORE crosscut all divisions, any division meeting would not normally affect another division, but was guaranteed to affect CORE.
4. There was lack of awareness, bordering on naivete, concerning the degree of guidance that should be needed by faculty. Although the CORE plan had relatively clear language goals, and although readings were recommended to explain the direction the program should take, with hindsight

we see that there was a total absence of "how to" information to guide faculty in their new content/language integrated role. Complaints about "not being a language teacher" were aired. Others simply did not understand the new role. Most simply did their conventional teaching. There was no consensus on what constituted a language program. In many modules there was little writing (which is primarily what the program was about). Others required extensive papers for which many students were not ready.

Although no "how to" information was directly provided, faculty were informed that the Study Center staff stood ready to assist them in developing materials and method. However the utilization of this facility was minimal, even by most vocal complainants.

5. An unexpected amount of time was needed to transform text into teaching materials for language instruction, and for coordinating the teaching of the team members for a work program.

   Text had to be scanned for readability, vocabulary, effectiveness of presentation, and suitability as a vehicle for conceptual development. Teams had to develop a routine of activities, agree on a work program of content and language, and agree on assignment of work members.

   With hindsight, we see that for a new program, with new teaching role expectations for all faculty, free hours should have been alloted for training purposes. However the constraints imposed by the City University budget meant that our innovations occurred with no special provisions for learning new roles.

6. In meetings arranged to introduce methods of teaching language to faculty members, attendance was only fair; and several faculty members used the meeting as an occasion to express their own vision on how the program should be run.

   These faculty pressures to modify the program led to further complications. Student opinion was canvassed about choices between a 6 week or semester program. A faculty meeting was held, involving the vice-president and the president, the program was badly shaken up, but the original provisions prevailed. All of this occurred before the program was 5 weeks old. Thereafter, until the seminars in the intersession period, no large meeting of the CORE staff was called.

A shortage of planning time was also noted. Plus those who taught the CORE sections were not involved in what planning did go on. Students in several of the modules had the following suggestions to make:

Formation of a student panel within the class to interact with the rest of the class
Production of interview, using role-playing
Investigation of opinions in the Lafayette Avenue community
Production of a display or film which could be shown to the public or to the rest of the college
Individualization of paper topics—have them chosen by each student.
More films

Use of more speakers from the community
More field trips
More guest speakers
More work in vocabulary
Use of letter grades on papers
More peer evaluation
More group projects
Briefer class discussions
More emphasis on reading

Despite these difficulties, CORE was a "qualified success." As one worker in the Study Center noted:

> CORE is sucessful to the degree that the individuals in the program are successful. Some were tremendously successful. The kids wrote booklets, did research projects, got involved in the community on issues like day care. Others were deadly—nine hours wasted. There is resistance among some faculty who are more traditional. With them, there was no integration between skills and content.

A department document also notes successes of CORE:

> In spite of this catalogue of difficulties, it does seem that the program has been a qualified success. The program continues to make useful innovations, such as the exemption exam and the research modules. It has a degree of resiliency indicating that it is a live, going concern. College retention rate, a measure of positive experience, is rather good. CORE, as an opportunity for student self expression is undoubtedly a factor in the personal development of some outstanding student personalities. Many teachers have improved in the program, and many have developed attractive work programs of integrated content and language.

Aside from the CORE program and it as yet unfulfilled relation with the Study Center, Medgar Evers provides rather traditional service to the students. A tutoring program employs about 50–60 tutors. Five or six of these work out of the Study Center. Counseling is rather traditional, except for SEEK where the students are seen on the average of once a week. What is of overriding importance to the college now, however, is a crisis in financial aid and the provisions of educational support services.

Seventy per cent of Medgar Evers students receive aid from some kind of financial aid program, including work/study. However, in 72–73 the school was slated to receive two-thirds of the previous year's funding for twice the number of students. Hundreds of students will be squeezed out of the college for financial reasons. Furthermore, the school does not have the money to run desired support services such as day-care and the provision of a complete course offering at night, so that those who must watch their children or must work could also attend. The financial aid situation is of crisis proportions, and the school's other fiscal troubles (part of the CORE funding came from a Ford Foundation grant which ran out in 1972) magnify its already burdensome problems. The kind of innovation at Medgar Evers which is so dearly needed for students enrolling under open admissions is handicapped under such fiscal hardships. The school is one of the most poignant examples of one working against fossilized budget procedures and egregious educational problems to provide a viable program for open admissions classes.

The Community Colleges

CUNY supports eight community colleges. Two of these, Hostos Community College and La Guardia Community College, are unfortunately excluded from this study due to restraints on research resources. The others are included below.

Bronx Community College

Bronx Community College, established in 1957, is presently used in the former Bronx High School of Science building. Major emphasis at the college is focused on serving the needs of neighboring residents through off-campus centers located in Parkchester, Model Cities, Hunts Point and Coop City. With the completion of the new nursing facility in 1964, enrollment in the college's nursing program has become the largest of any two-year college in the country.

The cut point at Bronx Community before open admissions varied from year to year, ranging from 72 to 78. According to one, students entering BCC "were not academically motivated even before open admissions. Many came here reluctantly and the first chance they got, transferred to a four-year school." In 1969–70 a study was done of the class which entered in Fall 1965. Thirteen per cent of that class graduated after two years. The reason this figure is so low is because a large number of students transferred to four-year colleges before receiving their degree or certificate. Another 13–15 per cent of that 1965 class graduated after three years work, while another 10 per cent graduated after four years. Thus, approximately one third of the Fall 1965 class graduated, but over a course of two to four years.[50]

There are conflicting reports on the various placement instruments used at BCC. One source stated that the college relied on the University-wide reading and math tests for placement. Another source claimed that these were unreliable indicators, and that BCC used its own placement exams, including oral exams in English and math that had been used several years prior to open admissions. This source cited a battery of exams that are administered to freshmen, according

	Sept. '70	Sept. '71
Students who needed intensive remedial work (developmental work)	18%	23%
In reading,		
a) needed some form of special help	53%	56%
b) probably would not require remedial help	29%	21%
In math,		
a) needed intensive remediation	44%	53%
b) needed some form of help depending on the student's program or curriculum	32%	32%
c) interpretation difficult because of elementary (computational) level of test	24%	15%[51]

to interest, including mechanics, chemistry, data processing, foreign language, business, speech (oral), stenography and typing. Exams in English, reading and math are required of everyone. Compensatory needs of the open admissions classes were determined from these exams. The results for the Fall '70 and '71 freshman classes are included in the chart on page 133.

Sixty per cent of all students entering BBC in September '70 and '71 received both English and reading remediation. There was a difference in who needed remediation, though depending on what area the student was studying. Students in business, secretarial skills, liberal arts and music had a below average need for remediation in English and reading. Students in business accounting, business administration, data processing, chemical technology, engineering science, electrical and mechanical technology, medical laboratory technology and nursing had an above average need here.

Fifty-five per cent of BCC entering freshmen under open admissions needed remediation in math. Again needs varied according to a student's area of study. Those in business retailing, data processing, chemical technology and music had a below average need for math remediation. Those in business administration, pre-pharmacy, electrical and mechanical technology had an above average need.

Athough liberal arts students proportionately took more remedial courses, this is because, as one professor noted, liberal arts is a "catch-all group" of students who are not sure what area they want to study or who are not sure they should be in college. These enrollments in remedial courses also belie the accuracy of high school grades in determining academic need. Though 32 per cent of those entering BCC had high school averages above 80 in English, 61 per cent of this group had to take remedial English. By the same token, 61 per cent had high school averages above 80 in math, while 56 per cent needed to take remedial math at BCC.

Like City College, Bronx Community College had long time experience with underprepared students. In 1962–63 Operation Second Chance, run under a Ford Foundation grant admitted "low achievers with high motivation." The program ran for two years. Following that, College Discovery was first funded at Bronx and Queensborough Community Colleges, and the experience determined to a large degree the school's response to the open admissions population.

The governing principle in formulating an open admissions policy at BCC was one of not isolating the underprepared student from "regular" students in the college. One administrator described this thinking:

> Open admissions is the business of the entire college, not any particular person . We didn't want to start another administrative office. The community college view is one of open admissions. The senior colleges do not have open admissions; they take the cream off the top, depending on how much room there is.
>
> The University's definition of an "open admissions student" sets up a ghetto. BCC defined an open admissions student as any student admitted under the open admissions policy, regardless of grades, standards or anything else.

Thus, the college, in all of its departmental and service areas, assumed academic responsibility for all students entering the college. According to one source, remediation in special supportive service areas such as study skills, reading, or orientation to the various academic disciplines were to be developed or expanded in the Department of Special Educational Services, though this was never implemented. Except for large staff increases in English and math, academic instruction does not seem to have changed much under open admissions. This seems to be largely a function of the integrational approach of the college, avoiding the establishment of a separate remedial program.

A non-credit writing skills workshop is taught for students who, upon examination, are "considered incapable of coping with the degree credit course." A course in reading and study skills is offered by the Department of Special Educational Services. In recognition of the age, motivation and development of students in the college, the use of elementary materials is "discouraged so as to promote the most rapid and direct achievement of functional and critical reading skills."

Counseling at the college did undergo changes other than staff augmentation (18 counselors were added during the first year of open admissions). Originally, the training of counselors for the college focused on a psychological approach, a concern with personal, not academic, problems. This changed to "total support counseling" under open admissions. A counselor was to take responsibility for a student from the time he or she entered to the time of leaving. Patterned after the College Discovery experience, a system of referrals was developed including psychologists, social workers and other counseling aids.

Open admissions is viewed by many of those at BCC as no drastic change from the original educational agendas of the college. The only difference is that there are more students with skills deficiencies to help than before.

Queensborough Community College

Queensborough Community College was established in 1958 and is presently located on a 34-acre site in Bayside. Though the University claims that the college serves a "diverse population including the economically disadvantaged, middle-management personnel, professionals and senior citizens,"[52] QCC has one of the most homogeneous student populations in the entire City University. It has the lowest percentage of Puerto Rican students (1.7 per cent) in all of CUNY, and among the community colleges only Staten Island enrolls a smaller percentage of Blacks than that of Queensborough (14.9 per cent). Queensborough also enrolls very few students from families with low incomes, and has one of the greater percentages of students with high family incomes in CUNY, particularly among the community colleges. Queensborough is one of the academic gems of CUNY's community colleges, its cut point at times as high as 78 before open admission. There is some feeling of bitterness on the campus for the potential "lowering of standards" open admissions had brought on, as well as a feeling of bitterness for the senior colleges, who are sometimes viewed as escaping with a lighter academic burden than the community colleges. Queensborough, however, has firmly resolved to maintain academic standards.

In the Fall of 1969, after the decision had been made to implement open admissions the following year, a Committee on Open Admissions, appointed by a nominating committee of the faculty, began plans for open admissions at Queensborough. The committee met through Spring, 1970 and discussed a number of issues relating to the implementation of open admissions. The committee organized itself into three groups: 1)space, 2) curriculum and 3) counseling, placement and remediation. The compensatory needs of underprepared students were a prime consideration of the group, made up of administrators, faculty and some students. Students, however, did not persist in attendance. And Blacks, according to one administrator, "were there until they realized we weren't going to shortchange them." But of greater concern was the preservation of academic standards. Some administrators were appalled at the idea of giving credit for "remedial" courses. A portion of the committee meeting minutes is illuminating:

> VIII—Prof. X questioned whether counselors in the high schools are informing students of any deficiencies and need for remediation—are they prepared for college work—or do they believe Open Admissions is sufficient for entrance. It was agreed that offering credit for remedial courses gives a student more incentive, attendance is better, and the psychological impact is not as great as when no credit is given—but at the same time, it is lowering the standards for a baccalaureate degree. A dean stated that more problems will be created if a student who needs remediation does not get it.[53]

No remedial course at Queensborough carries credit, and those with "some portion of a college level curriculum" carry partial credit.

The committee also suggested recommendations concerning remediation and counseling, some of which are inherently contradictory.

> a. The student population would be divided into 4 levels, level 1 being the weakest group and needing the most remediation.
>
> b. Rather than refer to courses as survey courses, it would be preferable that they be known as introductory courses.
>
> c. There should be no distinction made between students taking a regular course of study and those taking preparatory courses.
>
> d. If a student falls into Level 1 or 2 (after extensive testing has been completed) he should be made aware of this and guided accordingly.
>
> e. No stigma should be attached to being in Level 1. If a student falls into this level, he can transfer into a different course of study if he does well academically.
>
> f. A student may reject remediation, but we can suggest that he go into Level 2 or 3.[54]

For example, while the committee notes that "no distinction" should be made between "regular" and "preparatory" students, it at the same time recommends the identification of four levels of student (for faculty definition only), based on just such distinctions. And the feared "stigma" is present almost by definition.

The committe prepared a determination of the number of additional students *current* facilities could have accommodated, given utilization of empty classroom hours. The tables below show the calculation. Rooms tallied "available" were those capable of holding a three-hour section in the given hour. Thus, 88 three-hour sections are available. If students register for four sections, these rooms can accommodate 22 classes. Assuming 32 students can be accommodated by fully utilizing the 8:00 a.m., 4:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. hours.

Total Number of Classrooms	61
Total Number of Laboratories	20
Total Number of Specialized Rooms	13

Rooms Available at—	8:00 a.m.	4:00 a.m.	5:00 p.m.
Classrooms	34	21	33
Laboratories	26	17	20
Specialized Rooms			
Art studio	1	1	1
Typing	1	1	2

Hours Empty	Classrooms
0-4	4
5-9	14
10-14	18
15-19	8
20-24	6
25-29	5
30-34	2
	Total: 798

Projecting these statistics to the entire college, the committe noted that if all the vacant hours were used, the student population could be increased by 42 per cent, or from 2,500 to 3,500. Queensborough's enrollment in Fall 1969 was 4,011 (2,629 freshmen). Under open admissions in Fall 1971 it was 6,866 (5,158 freshmen). This increase was accommodated with virtually no additional classroom accommodations, though York College did leave the campus for its own building in Jamaica.

In the summer prior to open admissions, Queensborough offered a summer course for remedial teachers. Sponsored by a HEW grant, a reading and writing skills instruction course trained those new teachers who were to face the underprepared students. The four week session consisted of three phases: 1) formal course offerings emphasizing diagnosis, methods and materials in remedial instruction, 2) observation and student-teaching in a reading or writing improvement class at the college, 3) seminars, guest lectures and individual conferences.

The orientation program consists initially of placement examinations, group guidance sessions in curriculum and career planning, individual counseling for those in group sessions who need it, individual consultations to prepare academic programs of study, and financial aid information. As part of this program, students are prepared for the fact that their scores on the placement tests will determine which, if any, non-credit remedial courses they will have to take before they may register for regular credit bearing courses in the college.

A number of placement exams are used at Queensborough. The English Cooperative Test and other diagnostic examinations are used as guides for directing students into "regular English," "remedial English," or "Basic Skills English" courses. In mathematics a variety of placement tests are given devendent upon the student's choice of program. Even though a student may have the necessary prerequisites on his or her high school record, in many cases compensatory work is still needed. Specific placement examinations are given to diagnose the student's weaknesses. In speech, up to two semesters of "Remedial Speech" can be required of students whose speech placement shows a need for remediation, regardless of whether or not a speech course is required in the curriculum. These courses carry no credit. Remedial courses are organized under the Department of Basic Educational Skills, the English department and the Math department. Many other departments provide reading labs for their students in need of skills development.

About 50 per cent of the first year's entering class needed remedial reading, about 33 per cent needed remedial writing, and 50 per cent needed remedial math. (An administrator cited this figure in an interview, later citing 31 per cent as the correct figure for those in need of math remediation). As one administrator noted: "the prerequisite requirements for students wishing to take department courses are ways we hope of maintaining academic standards at the level they were before open admissions." The biology and social science departments would not allow students to take their courses if they needed either remedial reading or writing. Of the 1,675 students who took remedial reading the first year, 830 passed, 292 officially withdrew, 152 "disappeared" and failed, 384 were held over for another semester, and 17 received incompletes. One administrative source claimed that 293 students had less than ten credits in the first year. Of those, 78 were asked to come back in the fall, 109 were allowed to come back taking less than 10 credits, and 106 "lost matriculation." (How this could be done with CUNY's policy of not dropping open admission freshmen after one year's work is not understood.).

A tutoring program was started after the first semester of open admissions. Staff volunteered for the program; a tutoring coordinator represented each department. Upperclassmen and graduate students were paid for their services. Both career and academic departments participated. Funding for the program was taken from the level A/level B allocations of the college. Below is a breakdown of the

Department	Tutors	Hours
Biology	14	243
Business	18	1024
Chemistry	7	833
Electrical Technology	15	285
English	16	1167
History	6	621
Language		
French	5	56
German	6	117
Hebrew	7	108
Italian	6	260
Spanish	11	390
Mathematics	24	633
Mechanical Technology	7	113
Nursing	8	136
Speech	7	63
Psychology	1	6
Totals:	158	6055

number of departmental tutors and hours they taught during the first semester of the program.

The college's president has been actively advocating a number of proposals that are allegedly designed "to improve the open admissions program and at the same time preserve the college's academic standards." They are indeed designed to maintain standards by insulating the college from potential undesirable (termed "unsuccessful") students. They deserve mention here to illustrate the dangers that open admissions is constantly faced with. They are 1) create special career-oriented certificate programs and the awarding of the Associate in Occupational Studies degree, 2) create an honors program for the academically proficient student; 3) institute a year of precollege work for freshmen with serious academic deficiencies; 4) more academically proficient students be placed in the community colleges. (One source close to the president said another proposal was that the cut-off point for the senior colleges be raised to 85 or the upper quarter of a student's graduating class.) All these proposals are designed to provide alternative channels into which unsuccessful students can be funnelled, thus immunizing academic departments from erosion of their standards.

New York City Community College

New York City Community College, founded in 1946 and admitting its first students in 1947, has served as a pioneer and model for the rapidly expanding network of two-year institutions in New York State. It is presently the largest community college in the state and places emphasis on career programs in business, industrial technologies and health services. In 1971 Voorhees Technical Institute became a part of NYCCC. In addition, the college operates, under contract to SUNY, an Urban Center in mid-Brooklyn where career training and college adapter courses are taught to adults who do not possess high school diplomas. NYCCC is the exemplar of the community college as the lower track of an educational system. Its highly technical curriculum speaks of its students being trained for low-level managerial functions or technical trades. It is no coincidence that under open admissions half of its students are Black or Puerto Rican (40.2 per cent and 8.3 per cent respectively) and come largely from non-academic high schools. Administration sources, when asked if the college represented the lowest rung of a tracking system, responded negatively.

> The charge of a tracking system is a myth. We take on a number of different people, as opposed to the kinds of stereotypes that are thrown around about community colleges. We have career programs where students have the opportunity to go on to a four-year college. Most of our technology students go on to four-year colleges to become engineers, civil engineers, architects. Most nursing students go on for BS and MS degrees in four-year colleges, as do many liberal arts students.

Though this theme was echoed throughout the administration, one source did note that there was a danger in the community college turning into a lower educational track, if needed innovations were not made. Not one source, however, was able to quote data on the tranfer rate of any NYCCC graduate, nor did any source release such data.

NYCCC has 33 different curricular programs. They serve a two-fold purpose of 1) providing vocational training combined with some general education, and 2) preparing students for a four-year school, making the transition from high school to a senior college easier. The curriculum has not changed much with the coming of open admissions. The Developmental Skills Program offers courses in "remedial" reading, English and math "as needed to bring students up from their level of skills deficiencies." The Development Skills courses are directed and taught by master's degree teachers, as in other parts of the school.

A tutoring program supplements the Basic Skills course work. Students, faculty and outside volunteers are used as tutors; the students are paid, and faculty tutor on a voluntary basis. Student tutors are selected by a committee composed of four students and four instructors. Criteria include maintenance of a B average in the area to be tutored and the ability "to relate to the tutee." A summer training program for the tutors is provided. No mention of its effectiveness was made.

Students at NYCCC must maintain a 1.7 average for their first semester. They are given a grace period of one semester before matriculation status is lost. If students do not elevate their averages above a 1.7, they are "encouraged" to attend evening classes and become a tuition-paying non-matriculated student. If students do not maintain an adequate average in evening school, then they are directed toward "exit counseling," where they are counseled into areas of employment or occupational training progams not within NYCCC's scope. No retention statistics were made available.

Counseling at NYCCC comprises a major portion of its response to open admissions. Two terms, "counselor awareness" and "counselor involvement," are used to describe that response. Counselor awareness means that counselors are expected to become more involved with the financial aspects of students' needs. Counselors authorize and initiate request forms for financial aid. Counselor involvement means more contact with students as individual counselors and group counselors. Groups of students meet with counselors to discuss common problems in "sensitivity oriented sessions."

Students visiting their counselors is optional, with counselors seeing students once a year on a mandatory basis. Each counselor has 250-300 students with 150 students visiting regularly. A counselor evaluation form was recently instituted where students, on a form developed by both counselors and students, evaluate their counselor's work. But it is difficult to "get the students to evaluate the counselors. The questionnaires don't really determine a counselor's effectiveness." What does determine the effectiveness of counseling, as one counselor noted, is the number of students coming in. However, students must come in for financial aid, course approval, changes in program, tutoring assignments, etc. Therefore, the rate at which students come in for counseling services is no indication of whether the department is best handling its programs.

Counselors at NYCCC are expected to perform a number of functions. They run seminars, ranging in size for 7 to 15 students, see individual students, help in programming and course selection and approval, approve financial aid requests, write reports and "case studies." Counselors must account for the students they see and write profiles of each student. The content of these reports is determined by the counselor; no material is officially available. Students have no control over the use of their own files. Counselors are assigned to various curricula. Each counselor works with a department and handles caseloads from that department.

The counselors serve as "advocates for the students, working to maximize their students' potential." However, as one counselor noted, there is a problem.

> Many students come in with unrealistic goals. Their low grades and range of deficiencies are not up to the level of the goals they have in mind. The counselor has to evaluate where a student's deficiencies are and, if they can't be improved, try to direct the student to an area he can handle.

As one observor noted, this is an "interesting contradiction."

Although some traditional changes were made to accommodate the increase in enrollment under open admissions, because of NYCCC's highly technical curriculum and high use of laboratories, some space problems at the college were particularly acute. Classes were scheduled from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Class size was increased. Labs which had low use were rescheduled for greater utilization. The chemistry labs, for example, which had been used for 3 hours per day, are now scheduled for 9 hours, because the suitable laboratory space needed was not available.

Kingsborough Community College

Kingsborough Community College was established in 1963 and is located in the Manhattan Beach area of Brooklyn. Like Medgar Evers College, Kingsborough saw a great deal of public anger and frustration in its planning and implementation stages. According to one administrative source, a political agreement was made that the sixth community college would be built in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of Brooklyn, but this agreement was broken, with much bitterness among the Black community, and the 63 acre site of an old Merchant Marine installation in Manhattan Beach was chosen instead. For a time two campuses of Kingsborough existed, the one in Manhattan Beach and a second in a rented Masonic Temple building nearer the central district of Brooklyn. This second site, serving a largely Black population, offered a largely liberal arts program. This site ran on a double occupancy basis; it offered no evening sessions. The site was phased out in June, 1971.

The Manhattan Beach campus has two parts, one on the Merchant Marine site and another on the West End of campus. The West End campus has concentrated in enrolling liberal arts and retail business students. In Fall 1972 all liberal arts students were enrolled there, along with students who do not need the technical facilities of the career students. They enroll at the Manhattan Beach complex. One administrator claimed technical and career programs are not available to many Blacks, largely because the public school system works against them.

Enrollment at Kingsborough has doubled in the last two years under open admissions. Forty per cent of the whites are Jewish here, another 40 per cent are Italian. Much of the local Black community is of Haitian descent. The school's response to open admissions, as its history, has been rather chaotic. Kingsborough in its eight year history has seen four different presidents. The latest switch occurred after open admissions had begun and affected the program's character. An administrator describes the thrust of the program during its first year.

> No breakthrough was made for open admissions students until Fall 1971. There had to be restructuring of the curriculum—I don't mean a downgrading of the curriculum—but adjusting the entry level. Our main emphasis in 1970 was on counseling. A great number of counselors were fired, and we took in student counseling interns. The feeling was that open admissions students would need this kind of younger aid in counseling.

There is what is called at Kingsborough "selective free choice" in the curriculum. English, health education and physical education are the only requirements for a liberal arts program. Those in career programs had all liberal arts courses open to them. This was the decision of the curriculum committee, but, according to one source,was a false improvement. Though the rationale was to have students more motivated by free choice, it is argued that this did not answer students' academic needs. An English mini-course was also developed. It was designed to teach a student how to write a research paper, though it was not terribly successful.

Some at Kingsborough feel that there was considerable faculty dissatsfaction with open admissions. As one source noted:

> I won't officially say that there was general opposition, but you've got to understand for the sake of what you're writing—say there was uneasiness. Lecturers were told they had to teach on an eighth grade level. It took a year to convince my department to teach arithmetic.

The faculty voted away the F grade, W and no-credit/no penalty grades. In 1969–70 the college had a free cut policy, where students were not penalized for missing class. However, some students interpreted this to mean "don't come," and stayed away. The policy was changed under open admissions.

In Fall 1971 Kingsborough organized its first curricular responses to the compensatory needs of underprepared students. Two courses in English were developed, one for four hours and one for six hours. The weaker students were placed into the six hour course and given a reading component. The college hired a reading specialist to design the workshop. The workshop used SRE reading materials. To pass a student had to read at a ninth grade level. They were staffed by intern instructors or lecturers from the English department, chosen for youthfulness, innovativeness, flexibility and popularity. Any student who received lower than a B was required to take a second sequence of the course. A new elementary algebra course was also developed. The course was entirely on video tape, taking a behavioral approach to the teaching of math. It was quite successful. Curricular innovations in psychology, biology and English were also made for nursing students in need of aid.

The Dean of Students set up a liaison with every section of the six hour English course. A counselor meets with a section teacher regularly, some meeting twice a week, some meeting bi-weekly. They discuss particular problems of the students, both of an academic and psychological nature. Six to seven counselors were added for this purpose.

The Office of Institutional Research conducted an evaluation of the English program at Kingsborough. Performance on the open admissions Stanford reading test was used as a measure of improvement. Students were pre- and post-tested. Those students who took the six hour course showed a greater improvement in reading skills than those who took the four hour course, improving roughly 8 and 4 points respectively. The students in the four hour course did not have the focus on reading or as much room for improvement as those who took the six hour course.

The college is more organized under its current administration. It will have to maintain this stability if its response to the needs of underprepared students is to remain coherent.

Borough of Manhattan Community College

Established in 1961, Borough of Manhattan Community College offers a variety of career and transfer programs. The college sponsors correspondence courses under the auspices of the State University Independent Study Program and, under contract with SUNY, operates the Urban Center in Harlem where career training and college adapter courses are taught to adults without high school diplomas. The college also has a cooperative education program for business career students in which students work in positions related to their courses of study.

Like New York City Community College, BMCC has a highly disproportionate number of Black and Puerto Rican students enrolled. Though the college enrolled totals of 40.0 per cent Black and 14.6 per cent Puerto Rican students, the figures for entering freshmen are even higher. In Fall 1970 two-fifths of the entering class was Black and one-fifth "of Spanish origin;" in Fall 1971 roughly 30 per cent were Black and 24.1 per cent Puerto Rican. The real income on open admissions freshmen was about 20 per cent lower than the freshmen of two years before. Fourteen per cent of the students came from families with incomes below $3,000 a year. Two-thirds of the students reported family incomes below $8,000 a year (33 per cent of the national norm fall below this level.)[55]Average academic standing also dropped among open admission freshmen at BMCC.There was a "pronounced slippage" in high shcool standing from the mid-deciles to the bottom 8th, 9th and 10th deciles. High school averages of the Fall 1970 freshmen fell 5.5 points below the Fall 1968 level. Twenty-one per cent entered with high school averages below 70. The college does not have a high reputation among the students. As one teacher noted:

> The students resent being sent here. Many students are from Queens and Brooklyn and they don't know why they're sent here.

There is also an unsureness among the faculty of the school. Faculty do not feel BMCC is a remedial institution, but the idea is always somehow in the back of their minds. An English teacher related a story about a faculty meeting.

> We had been discussing the Cambodia student strikes and why BMCC students didn't seem too interested in striking. One professor got up and said.

"Well, they didn't strike here because they're too busy getting ready to go to college." Everyone laughed, but we all knew what the slip meant.

Open admissions had what one professor called a "traumatic" effect on BMCC. The space situation was critical. BMCC doubled its space through rentals after open admissions, though the college is scattered about in four different buildings up to twenty blocks apart in mid-Manhattan. The freshman classes are double what they were before open admissions. Though the effects of open admissions on BMCC have been severe, the college has not responded with drastic changes in currcular or supportive service offerings to its students. One source has described the college's response:

> The institutional behavior patterns have been essentially cautious. Partly, this is the result of uncertainty inherent in a new, evolving condition in which immediate action is required with what can be charitably described as incomplete preparation. Partly, this results from the limited control over some of the key factors in the situation, such as budget, space limitations and student allocation. The changes which have occurred were as much the result of necessity as of reasoning.

A large part of the reason for this cautious and limited response to open admissions is a feeling common to many of the community colleges, that they have always served the "open admissions-type student," and that they are now only doing so in greater numbers. It is this thinking that has guided the college into a policy of refusing to make a distinction between "open admissions" and "regular" students. The college's administration is strongly opposed to such a policy of "segregation." The college does not have a special remedial program; rather remediation is seen as the basic responsibility of the classroom teacher. Supportive services, essentially tutoring, are provided through the Office of Remedial Services.

Each department assigns its own tutoring coordinator to work with the ORS tutoring coordinator, who has full time responsibility for the program. A number of part time staff assist the ORS coordinator, along with 100-150 tutors. Most tutors are graduate students or some of BMCC's better students. A "good deal" of volunteered faculty time is given by individual instructors to the program. A student applies for the service and is matched with an appropriate tutor. Ideally, the tutors should work with the department coordinators, though this does not always happen. The tutors are invited to attend their students' classes. Results of a survey conducted among all tutors and tutees indicated a need for closer association between the classroom teacher and the tutor to more effectively reinforce the learning experience. They also showed a need for more careful recruitment of tutors and an enhancement of the quality of their instruction.

A special summer remedial program was conducted for those students in most need of compensatory aid. All students, teachers and counselors involved in the program submitted written evaluations. Results of the evaluation showed that while those who did not participate received higher grades during their first semester, their rate of course withdrawal was two and a times that of those students who took the summer program. The program had its shortcomings, being "hampered by insufficient funds and constriction of time, particularly in regard to the hiring and orientation of tutors." Its most positive influence was to aid the students in "adjusting" to college.

The main educational thrust fell upon several academic departments, in particular English, math, social sciences and nursing. One source describes the situation in these various departments.

> In a number of units, particularly those in most intimate contact with the open admissions freshman, there was energetic and intense analysis and searching for a viable educational approach to the new student needs. These efforts remained isolated, without central direction or even intercommunication between the different disciplines. This lack of coordination limited the effectiveness of the academic response.

An additional hour was added to the freshman English course, to be used at the discretion of the teacher to help with compensatory needs. There was no "homogeneous tracking" of open admissions students. Three hours a week were provided in a reading lab for no credit, but the lab had existed before open admissions. Twelve new faculty were hired for the additional load. These twelve, according to one English teacher, are very motivated to teach, though some "just wanted a job." She describes her classes.

> I don't feel that the character of my classes has changed since open admissions, but a lot of teachers feel that the student body deteriorated. Many teachers were pleasantly surprised. The teachers in this office are working on a new six hour program for double credit.
>
> There is an academic mix in my classes. I have some students who are totally incoherent in their writing, as if holding a pen was a trauma itself. There is a tremendous fear, particularly among the Spanish-speaking, of saying "I don't know," fearing inadequacy.

Faculty seminars were held among those instructors teaching the six hour course to discuss problems and experiences that arise.

The nursing department illustrates the type of response and effort made by BMCC faculty to open admissions. Upon graduation nursing students are eligible to take the state licensing examination. The ability of graduates to pass the exam is a measure of the department's effectiveness. In 1970 only 30 per cent of the BMCC nursing students passed, an "abysmal" percentage. To correct this the department instituted a number of changes. A maximum of 15 students were assigned to an instructor, who became responsible for every aspect of those students' academic lives. The teachers put in a minimum of 35-40 hours a week. Working with the college's media center, they taped their lectures on cassettes. Students were able to listen to the tapes at any time. An instructor was present in the media center at all times to help students with questions about the lectures. A Model Cities grant allowed the department to set up a reading and writing skills workshop on weekends for this help. Students actually came on the weekends for this help. The faculty conducted seminars and lectures on the nursing licensing exam, with the cooperation of the New York State Nursing Association and volunteer nurses who came in to work with the students. The department made its own arrangements with the social service agencies for its students. In 1971, 52 per cent of the nursing students passed their exams, with a similar percentage passing in 1972. This constitutes a considerable success for the department's efforts. To a "lesser extent," the same kind of effort is being made in other departments. The math and social science departments also use the media center. The central idea of this approach is not to separate "remedial" responsibilities from "educational" responsibilities.

What is lacking at the college is a communication of the various successes and failures that different departments are encountering. Thus, parts of the college are in ignorance of the efforts of other parts, impeding a greater understanding of the education of open admissions classes.

Staten Island Community College

Staten Island Community College, officially opened in 1956, was the first two-year institution to be sponsored by the Board of Higher Education under the New York State Community College Law. The college moved to its present 40-acre site in Sunnyside, Staten Island, in 1967. SICC offers a broad variety of career and transfer programs for special educational needs of returning servicemen and disadvantaged students in Staten Island. In some ways the school contrasts with its surroundings. Though Staten Island is a solidly blue collar area, the student population at SICC has one of the highest family income profiles among the community colleges. There are consistencies, however. According to the financial aid director, the school has one of the biggest aid populations. Also, like Staten Island itself the college has a small minority enrollment (11.1 per cent Black and 3.9 per cent Puerto Rican) and its students are predominantly Catholic.

Space at the college is limited. Thirty trailers were rented to act as temporary classrooms and offices. One faculty member describes them as "bad in every way—they're illegal, unsafe, and unhealthy." Facilities are "extremely strained" at SICC under open admissions.

Perhaps the most distinctive element of SICC is its president, William Birenbaum. Birenbaum is a high energy, progressive educator who brought with him a coterie of administrators bent on innovation. As a result Staten Island Community College, under Birenbaum's benevolent dictatorship, is marked with a great deal of educational innovation. All of the innovation, however, is contained in various pockets throughout the campus. Special and experimental programs on campus include the Community Scholar Program, Veterans Identity Program, the Preparatory Skills Center, University Without Walls, Circle 73, The Place, Performing and Creative Arts, and College Discovery. Virtually none of this innovative activity, however, has permeated throughout the college, which maintains a largely traditional curriculum. What is evident at the college are a large number of staff who have a student-centered approach to teaching, who are more committed to the psychological and educational needs of students than they are to ideals of academic standards. This reflects on their attitudes toward underprepared students and staffing an open admissions program. Portions of a dialogue among remedial English teachers indicate some of the problems encountered and the attitudes that prevailed.

> They come to us labeled thus by their past record, certified thus by our own testing and placement procedures, and even worse confirmed thus *in their own minds*. A constant refrain in this report and coming through on almost every page of the Preparatory Skills Center faculty Conference Reports is the students' sense of their own failure and their almost total acceptance of personal responsibility for their lack of academic success.
>
> I think as a group we tried to deal with this negative self-image more than we tried to deal with our students' difficulties with grammar. And that's where we first got into trouble. (And, incidentally, that's where we feel we had our success.)
>
> I thought we've been laboring under a paradox all year long—the college has defined us as reading, study skills and writing teachers. For most of us this focus on skills wasn't the prime objective of our courses or our teaching.
>
> I think there just has to be a real student output other than just verbal. Writing is one aspect; there are other aspects too. And I think we all have the problem of seeing writing as something not all that important for our students to do. I've come to feel that it's no longer important to learn how to write a paper in the kind of language I use or the language the student wants to use. It's important for them to be forced to clarify their own ideas.
>
> My failures resulted when I felt an obligation to be structured and to communicate skills in the old way, passing out information. I really feel that I failed. That's no longer effective (learning grammar straight from a book or a teacher's mouth). And my successes were when I tried to create an experience in class which included information but that also included information for widening perceptions of a given space, or a given time, or a given situation.
>
> At one point during the semester I came into class and apologized that I thought I had short changed them in not teaching them skills and preparing them for the realities of the college at large and that I'd do my best to rectify this next year. After the class a few of them came up to me and said they felt very badly about my putting myself down because, "We don't think that you and the rest of the people in the program realize the effect that you've had on our lives. A lot of us would have dropped out in total disgust after the first semester. If we had wanted just the skills we would have come and told you, but we felt that we were getting in touch with what we are as people—which was much more important."

Despite such concentrated concern for a student-centered approach to English remediation among these instructors, there has been a great deal of dissension among faculty members over the issues raised by open admissions. This is typified at SICC by a fight that took place among English department members. In June, 1970 the Preparatory Skills Center was established with a charge to "facilitate the coordination of placing students in courses suited to their individual needs and to establish and evaluate appropriate preparatory programs." The Preparatory Skills Center was established amid a flurry of controversy between PSC staff and English department staff. The English department had submitted a proposal for a compensatory writing course which was strongly opposed by PSC staff members. The Center's director articulated his objections to the proposed course.

> I feel it does not fit the needs of students who require a preparatory writing course. It focuses on sentences, paragraphs, and short papers in that order. This kind of approach very likely will continue to make writing a painful experience for students who have already been unsuccessful in high school with courses similar to English 1.
>
> English 1 is scheduled to meet four hours per week in class and 1 hour in conference. This is both an excessive number of hours for students in a non-credit course, and because of the number of hours involved would be much too expensive to staff.
>
> I would also reject the English Department's proposal because they insist upon total control of lines contracted to them; they will not allow the Center to participate in the hiring or evaluation of preparatory instructors.

The English department was equally distressed over the Center's planned curriculum and with its objections to the department's proposals.

> The Department is concerned that the academic integrity of the remediation program be maintained and suggests this can best be accomplished by placing the responsibility for the curriculum as well as the hiring and evaluating of instructors in the department, of the faculty, or by establishing a separate Department of Basic Skills. The Department believes that the present remedial organizational structure tends to be bureaucratic in nature and that locating remediation in the Department of Student Personnel—a non-academic department—may devalue the academic worth of the program in the eyes of the students. Further, there may be some questions of the appropriateness of having the Appointments Committee of the Department of Student Personnel evaluate competence of teachers of remedial English.
>
> The Department is concerned by the director's rejection of the English remediation proposal (which had already been passed by the Curriculum Committee) and the reasons for the rejection. It is also concerned with the educational soundness of his own remediation proposals: his ideas on the conference hour, the number of college credits assigned to those courses, what constitutes an educationally-sound teaching load in remediation, and the methods by which students will be assigned to remediation and regular classes at various stages.

In 1970-71 the Center's plans were instituted. Additional faculty were hired on PSC lines within the Department of Student Personnel. The Center taught its own courses in reading and writing. Seven additional faculty were hired to teach two levels of writing and a reading course. The first level writing met three hours a week for one credit, the second for three hours a week and three credits. The reading course attempted to help students with strategies for better reading in the specific areas which they were working.

Performance of students enrolling in PSC courses was remarkably good; 907 students registered for PSC classes in 1970-71; 21.8 per cent of the students who enrolled in the Fall were put on academic probation. This is more than four points below the college-wide probation average (26 per cent) for the last five years before open admissions.[56] Only 4.9 per cent lost matriculation. Even more striking, however, is the record of PSC students who went on to regular English classes. In these classes no fewer than 62.4 per cent of the students earned grades of C or better, with as many as 85.4 per cent earning such grades. And though few students earned A's, as many as 36.7 per cent earned B's, and very few failed (3.1 per cent, 1.5 per cent, 4.1 per cent for various classes).

Attrition statistics also indicate that the Center has had a positive effect on retention rates among its students, as the following data indicates.

Number of freshmen who entered in Fall 1970	1975
Number reregistered in Spring 1971	1629
Attrition rate from Fall 1970 to Spring 1971	17.5%
Number of freshmen, in PSC courses in Fall 1970	809
Number reregistered in Spring 1971	699
Attrition rate from Fall 1970 to Spring 1971	13.5%
Number of Fall freshmen *excluding* PSC students	1166
Number reregistered in Spring 1971 *excluding* PSC	930
Attrition rate from Fall 1970 to Spring 1971 *excluding* PSC	20.2%

The Center draws the following conclusion from these statistics: "It seems clear that former PSC students on the whole did as well as "regular" students."

Despite such a record the Center did not escape further controversy. Despite clear support of students and the Appointments Committee, the Personnel and Budget Committee recommended that four of the PSC faculty not be rehired. This brought harsh reactions from the Center's staff, who took the opportunity to air some grievances as well as protest the P&B decision.

> We wish to state our strong opposition to the policy of tracking students into classes and labelling them "Preparatory." Both students and teachers involved in these classes are thereby relegated to an inferior status. In continuing the same tracking system of the high schools, the college is perpetuating student feelings of inferiority which are in part responsible for their reading and writing difficulties. And the problem is not merely one of attitudes. Students in our classes were given no credit for the work they did first semester. These facts coupled with the firing of four of our teachers by this committee lead us to believe that this college hasn't shown a clear commitment to see open admissions succeed. We intend to bring this issue to the community at large.

The teachers were eventually rehired.

In 1971-72 the English department was given responsibility for teaching compensatory reading and writing courses, and PSC became transformed into a new program, Circle 73, which joined the Experimental College in offering a series of nonverbal means of communication. PSC staff felt that the political and educational climate was such that they could no longer continue dealing effectively with the English department. They note that the English department "had all the power to accredit work, award credits, etc.," and that the Center only had the power to offer non-credit courses to "remedial students." In Spring, 1971 "it became clear that the English department could effectively take over the remedial reading and writing program." It was then that the Center relinquished its responsibilities in compensatory education and joined the Experimental College. One administrator feels that much of this turmoil among faculty members is over.

> The administration was the most aggressive group in building programs at SICC. By and large the faculty waited for administrative leadership. The faculty was cooperative, though there was a rift at first among them. I think this is wholly over now, and that open admissions is accepted as a reality, though there are differences ranging from enthusiasm to grudging acceptance.

The math department has had stable history in providing compensatory services for underprepared students. A modular approach was designed for a preparatory mathematics curriculum, again with a central faculty concern for the self-esteem of the student. Four modules were established, with students being placed into the appropriate level of need according to scores on a five-part, untimed placement exam. Each of the first four parts of the exam corresponds to one of the first four modules of the program. If a student's scores on the exam are inconsistent with his or her high school performance, the student is interviewed by an instructor to determine proper placement.

Each module consists of ten lessons: eight instructional lessons, one review lesson and one evaluation lesson. Sections consisting of 16 students, one teacher and one student tutor meet three times a week, each meeting covering approximately one lesson. Thus, a student can complete up to four modules in a fourteen week semester. Students move at their own pace. The course offers no credit.

The semester is divided into four quarters, each of ten or eleven class periods, about three and a half weeks. At the end of each quarter students are evaluated on the module they have just completed. They remain in that module or continue on to the next as determined by the evaluation. Since several modules run at once, the student is assured of being able to take the proper module by at most changing rooms.

In addition to these structural provisions, the department noted the inadequacy of math texts.

> We already knew that our students never read mathematics textbooks but we discovered why: *they are unreadable*. In fact they are so unreadable that even teachers avoid them. The language and syntax are so complex that you have to understand the concept being discussed before you can read the discussion of the concept. For beginning students and particularly for previously unsuccessful students such a textbook can be fatal.

As a result of this awakening, four members of the department began writing new materials and phasing them into the program. The objective was to express each concept in language no more complex than is necessary. An effort was made to eliminate technical language.

Following is a lesson by lesson outline of each module.

Module I Operations on Rational Numbers

- Lesson 1 Prime Numbers
- Lesson 2 Multiplication and Division of Fractions
- Lesson 3 Addition of Fractions
- Lesson 4 Zero and Signed Numbers
- Lesson 5 Multiplication and Division of Signed Numbers
- Lesson 6 Addition of Signed Fractions
- Lesson 7 Subtraction
- Lesson 8 Order of Operations, Grouping and Exponents

Module II Operations on Polynomials

- Lesson 1 Operations on Signed Numbers
- Lesson 2 Algebraic Notation and Addition of Polynomials
- Lesson 3 Subtraction of Polynomials and Multiplication
- Lesson 4 Multiplication of Polynomials
- Lesson 5 Factoring
- Lesson 6 Exponents
- Lesson 7 Division of Monomials by Monomials
- Lesson 8 Division of Polynomials by Polynomials

Module III Linear Equations and Lines

- Lesson 1 Linear Equations in one Variable
- Lesson 2 Advanced Linear Equations in One Variable
- Lesson 3 Linear Equations in Two Variables
- Lesson 4 Advanced Linear Equations in Two Variables
- Lesson 5 Slope
- Lesson 6 Graphing by the Intercept-Slope Method
- Lesson 7 Simultaneous Solutions of Linear Equations by Graphing
- Lesson 8 Simultaneous Solutions of Linear Equations by Algebra

Module IV Factoring and Operations on Algebraic Fractions

- Lesson 1 Factoring and Simplifying Algebraic Fractions
- Lesson 2 FOIL Multiplication and Factoring Trinomials
- Lesson 3 More Factoring
- Lesson 4 More Factoring again
- Lesson 5 Simplifying Algebraic Fractions
- Lesson 6 Multiplication and Division of Algebraic Fractions
- Lesson 7 Addition and Subtraction of Algebraic Fractions
- Lesson 8 Advanced Addition and Subtraction of Algebraic Fractions

Module V Exponents and Trigonometry

- Lesson 1 More Operations with Exponents
- Lesson 2 Fractional Exponents
- Lesson 3 Relationship Between Exponential and Radical Notation and Simplifying Radical Expressions
- Lesson 4 Operations on Radical Expressions
- Lesson 5 Advanced Operations on Radical Expressions

Lesson 6 Pythagorean Theorem and Special Triangles
Lesson 7 Trigonometric Functions
Lesson 8 More Trigonometric Functions

The dropout rate from the course during the first semester was 45 per cent. After a number of changes, the figure has fallen to 25 per cent and seems to level off there. Of those who do complete the course and go on to a pre-calculus course, 81 per cent pass. 61 per cent of all students college-wide pass this pre-calculus course.

The students at SICC run their own tutoring program. Fifteen students, selected by the PSC staff, started the program over the summer of 1970, setting up a governance procedure and recruiting tutors. Tutors are paid largely out of work/study funds. Both "academic" and "non-academic" tutoring is offered. An attempt is made to schedule a tutor in every preparatory math and English course "to help the Open Enrollment students." Three budget requests were presented for fiscal 1972-73, providing for different levels of need. The totals ranged from $17,760 to $24,000. The budget for the middle request is presented below.

PROJECTED BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972-1973 TUTORING PROGRAM

Summer Session—10 tutors @ 10 hours per week @ $2/hr = $200
for 6 weeks = $1,200.00
Fall Session—31 tutors @ 10 hours per week @ $2/hr = $620
for 15 weeks = $9,600.00
Spring Session—see Fall term needs above = $9,600.00
Total for fiscal year = $20,400.00

Budget for Fiscal Year 1972-1973—Breakdown of Tutors

20 sections of English @ 1 tutor/section = 60
20 sections of Math @ 1 tutor/section = 60

Tutoring for other sections:

Nursing—4
Psychology—2

Tutoring for other sections:

Medical Technology—4
Physics—3
Chemistry—5
Biology—4
Spanish—6
French—6
Italian—3
German—2
Philosophy—1
Sociology—1
Government and History—3
Economics—2
Electrical Technology—3
Computer Technology—3
Others—4

Financial Aid money expected to pay for majority of tutoring.
Z bank money needed—31 tutors @ 10 hr/wk—@ $2/ = $620/wk
for 15 weeks = $9,300.00
$9,300.00 needed per term for fiscal year 1972-1973—total for Fall
and Spring term = $18,600.00
Summer 1972 =
10 tutors @ 10 hr/wk @ $2/hr = $200/wk for 6 weeks total money
needed for summer = $ 1,200.00
Total money needed for fiscal year 1972-1973 $18,600.00 + 1,200.00 = $19,800.00

A variety of counseling services are provided at SICC under the umbrella of the Counseling and Advisement Center, including general counseling, outreach counseling, curriculum advisement, draft counseling etc. More students are seen now than before open admissions. A counselor is available to students at all times on a walk-in basis. Counselors were also regularly present at the student activities center, where large numbers of students are always present. In 1971-72 a room in the building was allocated to the Counseling and Advisement Center and was staffed on a full-time basis. The staff is overworked, and not all of its projects have been successful. Group counseling for incoming freshmen has largely failed. Only three small discussion groups got off the ground and these were poorly attended. Students said the primary reasons for not attending were schedule conflicts or job demands. One effort that did mark an improvement in counseling services was that of assigning counselors to work with all the "preparatory" courses at the college. Counselors regularly visited English, math, electrical engineering and biology courses to "advertise" the counseling center and offer help to students with problems and questions. Communication between the teachers of these courses and the counselors was "informal" and up to the individuals involved. Counselors visit classes on the average of about twice a semester. Some administrators feel that this is a major step in coordinating the efforts of the classroom teacher and the counselor in helping underprepared students.

Financial aid at the college is strained. The financial aid office offers incoming freshmen their first contact with the college. It assumes responsibility for counseling students who request help even after awards are made, thus taking on an additional responsibility. Staten Island will feel federal cuts in aid for 1972-73 almost as severely as Medgar Evers. Everywhere the problem is the same; since funds are obligated for continuing existing awards, incoming freshmen are left with fewer and fewer funds available to them. This shortage, which is killing to many open admissions freshmen barely able to afford carfare, is magnified by the federal cuts. The financial aid counselor describes the students he works with and their needs:

> Guidance counselors cannot help students with survival. Hustlers are encouraged by this system, because if we put control in to eliminate the hustler, then we also stop the poor cats who can't hack the bureaucracy. The student has to bring in some proof of family income. We personally help them with the form, but for the poor kid there's a tremendous psychological barrier to filling out the long form. There is a demand in Puerto Rican families for students to put money into the household. Parents don't want to deal with college kids by giving them $5.00 a week or something, particularly those from low SES backgrounds. No one in the Office of Education is sensitive to open admissions student needs.

Because of some extraordinary administrative cooperation, some budget figures from a study CUNY is conducting university-wide were made available. As noted, CUNY has no idea of the cost of open admissions. In a series of cost center analyses conducted at each campus it is attempting to gather some of this information by developing cost breakdowns for academic departments. The data also gives cost per contact hour and cost per credit earned. The study was conducted for 1971-72, and because of this its usefulness is severely limited. No yearly comparisons can be made, only comparisons among the various colleges for that year. Furthermore, no provisions are made in the study for determining the cost of *non-credit* remedial contact hours, that portion of instruction centered on remediation. Furthermore, because CUNY refused to release any other cost center data, no comparisons can be made. Also, SICC considers the Preparatory Skills Center a non-academic department. Thus, no cost per credit was determined for it. Therefore, because of all these limitations, it is determined here that the data is of very little use and does not warrant publication here. It is unfortunate that the study was inadequately designed and that CUNY refused to release the data it did have. SICC's cooperation in the face of all this is greatly appreciated.

The Issues of Open Admissions at CUNY

The data that have been presented here provide a number of insights into the complexity of building a viable open admissions program at City University. In many ways policies of CUNY or of various colleges negate the promise of open admissions and compromise the principles of the right to a free higher education for all. In many other ways a stronger commitment could not be asked of those working with the program in all parts of the University. And in still other ways the very existence of an "open admissions policy" at City University brings into focus the social role that higher education plays in helping to create and preserve social and economic stratifications among economic and racial groups. A statement of the central issues involved in the open admissions program at City University should nearly complete an understanding of such a complex public policy and its implications for the students involved and for the institution.

Access and Allocation

By now it should be clear that CUNY does not have an open admissions system. It has a system which does not correct for a high school system with a pathological drop out rate for poor people, Blacks and Puerto Ricans; does not automatically admit returning veterans who have graduated from high school before 1970; does not allow non-matriculated students or School of General Studies students to enroll as matriculated students unless they meet specified academic standards; and does not provide admittance to a senior college unless specified academic standards are met. Open access is simply not provided for all. The rules that close access to certain students are the same rules that have regulated access to higher education in America since Harvard opened its doors in the 1600's—academic standards. Use of academic standards, as shown in Chapter III, correlates directly with the tracking of ethnic minorities and students with low family income into low level educational slots. Not only are the regulations governing access to CUNY senior and community colleges based on academic standards, but so are the regulations governing student allocation policy (as shown in Chapter III). In essence, the administrator who claimed that "only the community colleges have open admissions" is right. Admission to a senior college is not open, being guaranteed only to those with high school grade point averages above 80 or a class rank in the upper half of a particular graduating class. The importance of the class rank clause cannot be overemphasized. Without it, CUNY's "open admissions policy" would be a total farce. However, even with such a provision student allocation, both between senior and community colleges and among the specific campuses in each group, is inequitable along ethnic, academic and economic lines.

The administration at East 80th Street realized the imbalance caused by the allocation system. In a statement prepared for the Board of Higher Education, CUNY's administration noted the failures of the freshman allocation system that had been used on an "experimental" basis for the first two years of open admissions.

> Although it was contemplated that the use of class rank in addition to high school average would generate some degree of academic and ethnic integration of the senior colleges, it was realized that the impact would be less than desired by the Board and therefore the SEEK program was to be utilized in a complementary fashion. The data now available clearly indicates that the SEEK Program has been the primary factor accounting for academic and ethnic integration of the senior colleges and that the use of class rank has had little impact on the composition of the freshman classes entering the senior colleges. Unfortunately the SEEK program has been unable to keep pace with the enormous growth in enrollment occasioned by the Open Admissions Program.
>
> The failure of the allocation system to bring about ethnic integration has been coupled with a failure in the areas of academic as well as economic integration. Ethnicity, high school academic achievement and economic status are highly correlated as was shown by the Birnbaum-Goldman study of the 1970 High School Graduates. Although the numbers of academically and economically disadvantaged students as well as minority group students attending the University have increased substantially as a result of the open admissions system, the majority of these students have been allocated to the community colleges of the University.
>
> As a result of the allocation system as well as the relative popularity of some of the Colleges of the University, the distribution of economically and educationally disadvantaged students has been disproportionate in the direction of the community colleges. While on the one hand several of the senior colleges have developed substantial capability in the area of remediation and support services, the allocation system has not operated to permit the enrollment of sizeable numbers of students in need of those services at those colleges. At the same time, although some of the community colleges have had and have developed expanded capability in the area of support services, the allocation system has overloaded some of these colleges with a disproportionate number of economically and academically disadvantaged students.[57]

To correct this imbalance, CUNY proposed a modification of the allocation system, attempting to use SEEK criteria to assign more underprepared students to campuses whose remedial and support facilities were being underutilized. This modification was directed specifically at adjusting the academic mix at Queens College and Bróoklyn College, the two units of City University most protected from large numbers of underprepared students.

> The Board believes that the experimental allocation system implemented in 1970 is basically sound and should be continued. At the same time since the SEEK and College Discovery Programs have failed to keep pace with the growth of the freshman class, the Board now determines that in order to better deliver academic and economic support services to those students in need of the services, the number of students eligible for the SEEK and College Discovery Programs admitted to the University and allocated to the colleger through the 'seek and College Discovery admissions mechanism will be increased to a number necessary to best utilize the academic resources of the colleges of the University that are now under-utilized.[58]

The following months brought a public furor and confusion that clearly indicated the volatility of the allocation issue. On December 20, 1971 a resolution was placed before the BHE that called for the modification of the freshman allocation policy "to increase the number of students admitted to the University and allocated to the Colleges on the basis of economic criteria." This motion was tabled, and at a subsequent meeting on January 17, 1972, a substitute resolution was introduced, amended and adopted which read as follows

> RESOLVED, The Board of Higher Education reaffirms the guidelines for implementation of the Open Admissions Program which were adopted in July 1969; and be it further
>
> RESOLVED, That the Board reaffirms its intent to permit each student to enroll in the college and curriculum of his choice but until such time as the University develops the capability of providing every student with his choice of college and curriculum, high school academic averages and rank in class will continue to be used as the primary basis of assigning students to colleges and programs where demand exceeds available places and will continue to guarantee students whose high school average is 80 per cent or better or who rank in the top 50 per cent of their high school graduating class admission to a senior college of the University; and be it further
>
> RESOLVED, That effective with the September 1972 freshman class the Board authorize an increase in the number of students to be admitted and allocated to the colleges on the basis of the criteria used to admit and allocate students to the SEEK and College Discovery Programs.

Public outcry over the proposed changes was furious. A number of citizen groups, including representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee for City University and the American Jewish Congress blasted the Board's action for

> its obscure wording, the absence of any statistics on its projected effect, the

> fear in some quarters that it would exclude from the senior colleges applicants who would ordinarily have been admitted to those institutions, and the introduction of non-academic criteria in the allocation of regular admission seats.[59]

Also highly criticized was 80th Street's "underhanded" approach in trying to implement the modification with no public consultation. Segments of New York City's public interest groups are highly politically sophisticated, and they refused to let CUNY "get away with this move." One such leader expressed her outrage at the move.

> Improving the academic mix shouldn't mean displacing a kid who is qualified to get into a senior college, and put him in a community college. I have to assume that we must maintain open admissions and maintain the quality of CUNY.
>
> Such criteria have nothing to do with academics. Who did it put in a lousy spot? People like me. Madman right-wing Jewish organizations are screaming that they're trying to screw the Jews. I have to try to defend the University and say, no, that's not what they're trying to do—and at the same time develop a definitive posture toward the allocation plan.

Objections arose primarily over establishing a precedent for student allocation on other than academic considerations. There was also a great deal of controversy over the *way* 80th Street originally attempted to institute the change. But the fact is that the change was so small the only real issue left to argue over was precedent. For several reasons, the percentage of those students being admitted to their first choice college did not drop significantly over previous years' figures.

1. The number of "economic criteria students" nearly equaled the numbers of SEEK freshmen admitted in 1971.
2. There were 1,000 additional freshman places at Brooklyn College, and one to two hundred additional places at Queens College.
3. The number of applications decreased 6.5 per cent from the previous year's figure.

In fact, only 480, 400 and 55 economic criteria students were allocated to Hunter, Brooklyn and Queens Colleges respectively, with only 260, 220 and 30 actually enrolling. Similarly, 39, 100, 49 and 137 such students were allocated to Staten Island, Queensborough, Kingsborough and LaGuardia Community Colleges respectively, with only 22, 55, 27 and 75 enrolling.[60] Out of a total of 55,545 allocations, these figures are certainly microscopic. Thus, the issue of precedent (aside from concerns over BHE *process)* becomes the only legitimate "fear" or concern. The American Jewish Congress stated its concern over this issue.

> The more important effect of the freshman allocation plan lies in the precedent it establishes in using non-academic criteria in the allocation of freshman seats, and in permitting allocations between academically qualified students and economic criteria students to be adjusted administratively without setting

> clear guidelines and standards against the abuse of such administrative discretion.

What does become clear from this dispute is the tenuousness with which "the public," if such an animal can be identified, gives its support to the class rank provision of CUNY's allocation policy, the provision which provides the only measure of opportunity for underprepared students to enroll in a senior college. This clearly shows the dangers which open admissions is subjected to, and that it has not gone unnoticed, as one source points out:

> A decrease in public confidence in the BHE has occurred and fears have been created that academic excellence is being sacrificed. It has also evoked a great deal of latent hostility towards open admissions from those who would like to see the University return to admission by high school average alone.

The intention of 80th Street, as one highly placed official has said, was not to enhance integration among the various colleges, but rather to redistribute more evenly those students most in need of remediation. The protests over the introduction of economic criteria in student allocation are irrational, for they do not consider that academic criteria *de facto* discriminates against those from low economic backgrounds. CUNY's intentions were admirable here. Its process was sloppy and showed little respect for public accountability. And its response to the ensuing public debate, a frightened one, resulted in a token modification of the allocation system, changing virtually nothing.

What is needed in developing an equitable allocation policy is the guarantee that every student will be assigned to the school he or she has picked as first choice. CUNY must be given the fiscal resources to do this. They are not great. The reinforcement of academic rank as an allocation criteria, and its accompanying discrimination against poor people and ethnic minorities, must cease. CUNY's attempt to modify the freshman allocation was, in this regard, conscientious. The ultimate tokenism, however, is a deplorable yet understandable reaction to strong public hostility over a very sensitive issue. What must be made clear to policy makers is that the only solution to this problem is to provide an institution with the resources to accommodate all those who wish to attend. Developing such a student choice system would not only end the debate about lowering standards by denying admission to previously qualified students, but it would also end CUNY's hypocritical posture of refusing to endorse racial separatism by choice while *de facto* segregates minorities into "remedial" schools with its present allocation system.

Remediate, Compensate or Educate?

One of the most fundamental aspects of an open admissions program is the nature of underprepared students' experience in the classroom. Are these students met with carbon copies of their high school education? Are they required to learn ninth grade material, material which did not communicate skills in the ninth grade and will certainly not so so for adults? Are they required to take such "remedial" courses for no credit? Are they branded, officially or by implication, second-class citizens of their college until they have been "remediated"? What kind of educational program can be designed to build skills among adults without dehumanizing them?

Although there is no single answer to this last question, a number of lessons have been learned from CUNY's experience with open admissions. Ghetto students, be they labelled "remedial" students, Level A/Level B students, "economic criteria students," or any other euphemism, bring with them a set of skills previously unrecognized by the academic community. They bring a new expressiveness, a new way of viewing the world, a new sense of identity just as valid as any "traditional" academic experience. CUNY's exposure to this new group of students is bringing a new respect for these students' skills, for their capacity to learn. Perhaps more than any other single factor, the mere presence of these students on campus is causing faculty members to rethink old values and learn to accept students for what they are and where they come from. In talking to some instructors at CUNY, one can almost sense a new spirit of humanism among a group of professionals who have been sheltered from such experiences by their own professionalism.

The attitude of those teachers at Staten Island, of City or Medgar Evers epitomizes this new appreciation. It is an orientation which causes these teachers to look for causes and answers in other than academic quarters. Students' academic problems are seen as extensions of an alienating public school experience, and "remediation" is seen as a problem that must be worked on through the student's personal experience, not simply through the through the rudiments of grammar or algebra.

Unfortunately, higher education like a diabetic in need of insulin, needs to award or deny credit for "college level" work. Through almost Pavlovian conditioning, students learn to respond to the demands of these standards, and even begin to evaluate themselves in terms of GPA's or credits earned. Such conditioning works against creating a healthy learning environment where, arbitrary symbol, rather than understanding, become the goal.

The language and skills and style of the new student population under open admissions do not fit traditional academic standards. But it is these standards that are deficient, rather than the students, for not recognizing the humanity or quality of particular life experiences. When it is shown that such standards limit one's world, then they need to be reformed into a system which recognizes the existence of alternate ways of learning and ways of expression. It then becomes clear that an integrative approach to building skills, one which seeks to fuse a student's life experiences with his or her learning experiences, is the soundest approach. Shunting students in need of help into "remedial" courses or departments assumes that the problem can be isolated and treated in such wards. Such an approach continues a student's frustration with an unresponsive educational system. The resulting alienation can be cause for dropping out. Thus, this ward approach can be a major cause for students leaving college, leaving them only with one more failure to deal with. Its use must be discouraged.

Programs at City, Medgar Evers and Staten Island are beginning to understand how the integration of students' experiences with their learning can be achieved. The writing program at City College exemplifies the kind of respect and care necessary to build the writing skills of underprepared students. Pofessional writers—journalists, novelists, poets—are teaching in the writing workshop along with regular college faculty. At Medgar Evers the CORE program is attempting to build upon students' experiences in the team teaching of various interdisciplinary programs. Some of its modules are taught outside the classroom in the neighboring community. The Preparatory Skills Department faculty at Staten Island operated with a genuine respect for their students and concern for their problems. This allowed them to try non-traditional, more holistic approaches to the teaching of reading and writing. (For more detailed information, see the descriptions of these colleges).

The Cost of Open Admissions

The area in which data is most lacking at CUNY is the cost of open admissions. Chapter III noted the inequities in the fiscal procedures of City University, and the inadequacy of the data gathered in the cost center analysis reports (see Staten Island Community College description) has shown the lack of any rigorous data on the cost of admitting and serving additional students under open admissions. Still, this does not answer the question of how much open admissions costs. Some have argued that this is not an important question. A past Vice Chancellor of the Budget for CUNY indicates it is not.

> The cost of open admissions is not answerable. All those who came in for the first time—that's a larger number. But the difference in cost between what enrollment would be with and without open admissions is not an important question. It's not a hell of a lot of money—$100 million out of a state budget of $7 billion. Is that a lot? How much additional services is that? We're talking about a $500 supplement per student who needs additional services.

The point is that the cost of open admissions, though not as yet precisely determinable, is not prohibitive, even under the traditional fiscal arrangements of state and city budgets. If a little imagination were applied and fiscal managers were not bound to archaic fiscal considerations, sources for such funding could easily be found. New York City alone pays an annual debt service of $1 billion.[61] All of this is paper capital with no social benefits; it profits only the banks. If these payments were taxed, new revenues could be added to the city's coffers. Similar payments are made on mortgages and stock transactions. New York City is the financial capital of this country. The money is there.

The one thing which CUNY's open admissions program has proven is that even with inadequate funding, a solid program can be operated. Thus, what becomes central to any institutional effort to provide a real program of open admissions is not a specific amount of dollars, but rather the ideological commitment of the faculty and the administration. The people at City University, working under severe fiscal shortages, have clearly shown this to be true.

The one fiscal area which does bear critically on an institution's ability to provide an open admissions program and which is, ironically, the one fiscal element most outside an institution's control, is financial aid. The federal government supplies the vast majority of CUNY's financial aid funds, and students who do not pay tuition are ineligible for most state aid programs. The table below shows the critical need for student assistance at CUNY.

FAMILY INCOME LEVELS OF CITY UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATES*

Gross Family Income	Fall 1971 Freshmen Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Fall 1971 Total Undegrdauates Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
$ 0- 3,000	3,843	9.8	9.8	13,859	7.7	7.7
3,001- 6,000	7,489	19.1	28.9	27,898	15.5	23.2
6,001- 7,500	5,254	13.4	42.3	22,859	12.7	35.9
7,501- 9,000	5,137	13.1	55.4	25,018	13.9	49.8
9,001-12,000	8,273	21.1	76.5	40,858	22.7	72.5
12,001-15,000	4,784	12.2	88.7	24,479	13.6	86.1
15,001-20,000	2,627	6.7	95.4	14,759	8.2	94.3
20,001-and up	1,804	4.6	100.0	10,259	5.7	100.0
Total	39,211	100.0		179,989	100.0	

* Source: 1972 Master Plan of the BHE for CUNY, Draft, 7-72 p. V-8.

Exactly 42.3 per cent of Fall 1971 entering freshmen came from families with incomes below $7,500 a year. It must be remembered that New York City has one of the highest costs of living in the country. And more students from poorer families are being admitted under open admissions. For many of these students the ability to stay in school is determined by their financial freedom to do so. If aid is not provided, it often means excluding a student from college, just as he or she might have been excluded for academic reasons. The cuts in federal student aid programs bring CUNY to a veritable crisis. Hundreds, probably thousands (the figure will never be known), of students will be forced either to drop out, not enroll or transfer to evening sessions where fees must be paid. The schools with the highest proportion of Black and Puerto Rican students, those students with low family incomes and poor high school grades, will be hardest hit. These cuts have a direct negative effect on access to the University. And those that are forced out are those who were traditionally excluded from the University on academic criteria. In short the crisis in student aid at CUNY can cripple the University's ability to provide access to those with need.

A strong financial aid program which provides for the needs of all students must be built. The federal government is faced with this responsibility, for the fiscal and political realities of New York State are such that it cannot and will not provide aid programs for CUNY students. CUNY has lobbied for greater federal aid without much success. It is the federal government that must take the initiative here.

The Spectre of Attrition

The statistics which CUNY is most afraid to release are those concerning attrition. The University believes that public opinion will judge the "success" of open admissions on these statistics. And the University is quite afraid that any released data will be "misinterpreted." As a result, 80th Street released no detailed figures on attrition. Only vague estimates were offered verbally. One administrator noted the difficulty in interpreting attrition figures and offered some rough percentages.

> It's hard to read trends into the figures. There are several problems. There's a switching problem for the kids. They're entering a complex institution, and they drop out on their own. You have to have the appropriate courses for a student; you have to get him to them and keep him out of courses he doesn't belong in. It's a sort of gamesmanship of registration.
>
> The attrition figures aren't that powerfully worrisome; 45 per cent of the Fall 1970 class will matriculate for the third year. They will become juniors. Another 10 per cent are doing good no bullshit, solid work. Fifteen per cent are clearly not going to make it. And there are some who are hovering on borderline cases.

CUNY does have precise attrition data. The following table appeared in the 1972 Master Plan draft.

ONE YEAR ATTRITION OF FALL 1970 ENTERING FRESHMAN CLASS (DAY SESSION)*

	Previously Eligible Students		Newly Eligible Students	
Colleges	Number Admitted	Attrition	Number Admitted	Attrition
Senior	10,362	13.6%	6,749	29.6%
Community	4,251	34.4%	8,447	40.1%
Total	14,613	19.9%	15,196	35.8%

* Does not include special admissions programs, students for whom high school averages were unavailable, and one college for which data were not available at this writing.

More precise data is on record, but because of CUNY's fears, the data was not made available. This may be understandable given the volatility of the open admissions issue, but as Paolo Freire has noted, to withhold information is to oppress. It is a violation of the public's right to know. CUNY must ultimately remain accountable to the public. Furthermore, the statistics are indeed not "powerfully worrisome," from a University-wide point of view, that is.

What CUNY does not have are the attrition statistics for ethnic minorities or low income groups. There is good chance, and this is what professionals refer to as an educated guess, that the figures for these groups are higher, perhaps significantly higher, than the University-wide statistics, which compare favorably to national statistics. In testimony before the Joint Legislative Committee on Higher Education, CUNY presented the following interpretation of its attrition statistics and those of a national cohort.

What interpretation is to be given these findings? That is, what may we conclude about the job CUNY did during the first year of Open Admissions? One might first consider the various factors which determine the attrition rate. Might any of these apply more strongly to the Open Admissions students? My estimate would be that they do. First, research suggests that students with lower high school averages are of lower socio-economic status than students with stronger academic credentials. Therefore, such students are more vulnerable to financial crises and to health problems which might cause them to drop out of school (if only temporarily). Furthermore, the Open Admissions student is more likely to have a negative self-image regarding academic ability. One recent study using national data shows that negative self-image is a very important factor in relation to attrition. Since Open Admissions students are more likely to enter college with sub-standard preparation and weaker high school records, they are less likely to think of themselves as competent to meet the requirements of college work. Such students are more likely to become demoralized by an initial difficulties in college and thus may be less likely to persist.

It may also be helpful for interpretation to consider some national data. While the available figures are not broken down year by year, one recent study showed attrition rates at the beginning of the junior year. The data are presented in below:

ATTRITION OF A NATIONAL COHORT OF COLLEGE ENTRANTS BY THE FALL OF 1968*

	Attrition (percentages)		
Type of High School Diploma	All college entrants (N = 654)	Four-year entrants (N = 482)	Two-year entrants (N = 172)
College Preparatory	26%	19%	55%
All other	59	43	75
All curricula	33	23	64

* Source: A. J. Jaffee and Walter Adams, "Academic and Socio-economic Factors Related to Entrance and Retention at Two- and Four-Year Colleges in the Late 1960's," Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1970.

This table compares the dropout rates in two and four year colleges for students who attained college preparatory diplomas and students who attained other types of diplomas. Since Open Admissions students probably have a much higher proportion of diplomas other than the college preparatory type, the distinction in Table II is roughly comparable to the CUNY distinction between Open Admissions and regular students.

As the table shows, the dropout rate in the four year colleges is 19 per cent for students with college preparatory diplomas and 43 per cent for students with other types of diplomas. For the two year entrants the respective rates are 55 per cent and 75 per cent. Comparison with the CUNY data suggests that CUNY still has room to come in under the national findings in the attrition sweepstakes.[62]

The following table indicates attrition rates by high school average among the various colleges for the first semester of the Fall 1970 freshman class. It indicates, as can be expected, that those with low averages have a higher drop out rate.

FALL 1970 ATTRITION RATES BY HIGH SCHOOL AVERAGE (EXCLUDING SEEK AND COLLEGE DISCOVERY)**

College	Regular	Level A	Level B	High School Average Not Available	Total
Baruch	6.8%	9.6%	31.1%		9.1%
Brooklyn	4.5	7.4	4.0		5.1
City	7.8	11.1	43.2		9.8
Hunter	10.8	12.1	17.2		11.4
John Jay	14.1	22.6	27.2		23.7
Lehman	6.4	12.0	14.4	7.0	9.6
Queens	4.7	7.4	50.0		5.2
York	8.1	8.8	6.8		8.5
Average	6.5%	11.2%	21.9%	7.0%	8.8%
Boro. of Manhattan	*	*	*		18.8
Bronx	9.9%	13.1%	17.0%		13.6%
Hostos	14.2	5.2	42.2	34.5%	24.6
Kingsborough	8.6	17.5	12.8	11.7	13.5
New York City	24.4	20.4	30.5		25.6
Queensborough	22.1	24.5	28.1		24.6
Staten Island	10.7	16.5	19.5		15.5
Average	16.7%	18.9%	23.4%	22.9%	19.8%
Average CUNY	9.2%	14.2%	23.2%	17.7%	13.5%

* Breakdown by level not available

Note: In Senior Colleges:
Regular = 80% and above
Level A = 70-79%
Level B = below 70%

In Community Colleges:
Regular = 75% and above
Level A = 70-74%
Level B = below 70%

** Source: CUNY Data Collection Office of Budget and Planning, April, 1971

When all is said and done the success of CUNY's open admissions program cannot be determined by these attrition statistics. They are incomplete, not up to date, and do not make correlations for ethnicity or class. Furthermore, the issue of attrition is far too subtle to be measured by statistics alone. Virtually no one flunks out of CUNY, they quit for various personal reasons, some of which are noted in the testimony above. The issue of attrition does, however, question just what is meant by the query "Is open admissions at CUNY a success?"

On the one hand, the University cannot take the posture that those students who drop out for financial reasons, or for reasons of "negative self-image," or because they became too frustrated should be considered expendable. "We can expect to lose a few." The institution must take responsibility for meeting the needs of the students. Students who are alienated by racist teachers, obtuse regulations or institutional impersonality do not need to be "corrected;" the institution and its staff need to change. How long must students be expected to put up with the nothing less than inhuman space problems at John Jay or with professors who cannot communicate in an understandable fashion? The potential of students who, for discriminatory reasons, did not previously "fit" cannot be denied.

On the other hand, it is folly to expect every student to graduate. One University official describes the dilemma.

> How do you define success? By a degree? No. Providing special academic support services is a part of it. Alexander Astin talks about the 'value added' notion of going to college. Just by being in college for 2, 2½, 3 or 4 years, you ought to be less of a bigot. You ought to be able to talk with a white man of a Black man. You ought to be able to see a movie better, read a paper more critically.

In short, the *experience* of college itself is worth something, adds another dimension to one's view of the world.

In the long run this may be the most valuable product of open admissions: people who have gained a more critically aware perspective on their lives and the forces that control them. But for most this is not the motivating force to attend college. Most students are "putting in their time" to get that degree for one reason, a better paying job. Students have been quite frank about this in discussions, and faculty are equally aware of this orientation. Even high school teachers know of this, facing scores of students who breeze through high school with little motivation. They know they can get into CUNY, and they do not need to struggle for better grades. For most, money motivates, not a desire for a better understanding of the world. For those Black and Puerto Rican students who have been denied the material graces of a racist society, the desire for a higher paying job equates itself with a desire for more control over their lives.

The ability of open admissions to deliver for these people will be the ultimate test of its success. As one Borough of Manhattan Community College professor noted, the success of open admissions will be measured in its social product. Unfortunately, opportunity and certainly achievement have not been equalized for poor people or for Blacks or Puerto Ricans. Most who do graduate will find themselves in better paying jobs, but mindless jobs, stultifying jobs, jobs with little descernable future to them. The educational system, which began its work of making distinctions among children and channelling them appropriately, will have completed it by helping to select appropriate jobs for its now adult graduates. Open admissions is in great danger of becoming a "suspended sentence," as one incisive Puerto Rican student put it, for ethnic minorities precisely because of this function.

The promise of open admissions lies in its potential to radically change the function of higher education, as one person from Brooklyn College noted, to "turn the premise of Western education on its head, to make it not an exclusionary system, but an inclusionary system. But you get the sense that there isn't a lot of time." Open admissions to a large degree, has accomplished this at City University. But it has not yet cracked a subtle tracking system; it has not yet eliminated discrimination along racial or class lines; it has not yet cemented a respect for minority cultures and life experiences. And because institutions of higher education are part of a much more pervasive system, open admissions has not yet ended their complicity with that system's efforts to control and channel people in "proper" directions. To do that higher education must be changed into a system that can not only allow diverse groups of people to *know things*, but also can help infuse in them the ability to question their surroundings, to challenge a system that at times betrays them, and to gain a measure of control over their own lives. This in the end, more than delivering a better paying job, will help provide the liberation of people who have been excluded, and will provide the ultimate measure of success for open admissions.

At City University some tremendous changes are occurring; the promise of open admissions is still viable. A CUNY official expresses his view of the way things are.

> If open admissions were put to a faculty vote, it would carry by a greater margin than before. We're no longer judges of the high schools or the junior high schools. We're no longer saying 'you measure up to me, or get out.' Students are learning that someone cares. A tight way of teaching is a help for Blacks. We're learning about assumptions that we have made. We're learning how to make trusting a system. We're not honest men as others see us. Not all our rewards come from PhD pursuits or from learned journals. We can't sell Shakespeare, but *Jules and Jim* sells.
>
> Racist attitudes are fading. These kids are teachable, but it will be different; it will be another view of this republic. We may be making the national image with these edgy, urban kids. There is a firmer accent on personal relationships as opposed to scholarship.

We've taken thousands of kids and have said they're not dead. We need more Black doctors, all of whom have to take chemistry.

> Perhaps this, then, is what open admissions is all about. Not only must the opportunity to take chemistry be provided for all who desire, but it must be taught in such a way that all can *learn* it. And if this means starting with high school algebra, then it must be done. If this means building math skills with respect for the student, then it must be done. If this means providing for sensitive counseling in times of frustration or alienation, then this must be done. If this means providing financial stipends to students from poor families who can ill-afford to not work or attend college, then it must be done. It must be done, so that people who have been oppressed can begin to realize their own productive and intelligent potential. But you get the sense that there isn't a lot of time.

FOOTNOTES

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN NEBRASKA

[Author's Note: The data in this report relates to the time during which the students being studied were high school seniors (school year 1970–71) and when they entered UNL as freshmen (school year 1971–72). Subsequent to these years, UNL has made modifications in its approaches of attracting students. The impact, if any, remains to be seen.]

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2. Report and Recommendation to the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York, "University Commission on Admissions, CUNY," October 7, 1969, p. 53. (Author's Note: These costs were calculated in 1969; several years of inflation in New York City has increased them.)
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